

THE  
HISTORIE OF  
THE UNITING  
OF THE KINGDOM OF  
PORTVGALL TO THE  
Crown of Castill:

*Containing the last warres of the Portugals against  
the Moores of Africke, the end of the house  
of Portugall, and change of that  
Gouernment.*

The description of Portugall, their principall Townes, Castles,  
Places, Riuers, Bridges, Passages, Forces, Weakenesses, Reuenues,  
and Expences. Of the East Indies, the Isles of Terceres,  
and other dependences, with many battailes by  
sea and lande, skirmishes, encounters,  
sieges, orations, and stratagemes  
of warre.



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for Edward Blount.*

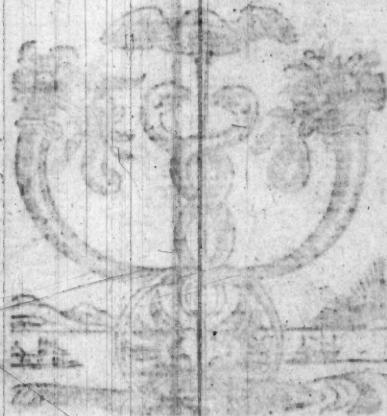
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THE HISTORY OF  
TOM THUMB.  
BY  
JOHN GOODRICH, M.A. F.R.S.

Illustrated by G. C. LEWIS.

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THE HISTORY OF  
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BY  
JOHN GOODRICH, M.A. F.R.S.

TO THE MOST NOBLE  
and abundant president both of  
*Honor and vertue*, H E N R Y  
Earle of Southampton.

Right honorable and most woorthy Earle,



T is not my fortune to be so infortunately read, as to begin (after the common stampē of dedication) with a grai-headed Apophthegme, or some straied sentence out of *Tully*, but in such proper and plaine language, as a most humble and affectionate dueſtie can ſpeake, I do heere offer vp on the altar of my hart, the firſt fruits of my long-growing endeuors; which (with much conſtanſie and conſidence) I haue cheriſht, onely waiting this happy opportunity to make them maniſt to your Lordſhip: where nowe if (in reſpect of the knowne diſtance, betwixt the height of your Honorable ſpirit, and the flatneſſe of my poore abilities) they turne into ſmoake and vaniſh ere they can reach a degréé of your merite, vouchſafe yet moſt (excellent Earle) to remember it was a fire that kindled them, and gaue them life at leaſt, iſ not laſting. Your Honors patronage is the onely obiect I aime at; and were the worthineſſe of this Historie I preſent, ſuch as might warrant me an election out of a worlde of Nobilitie; I woulde ſtill purſue the hap-pines of my firſt choiſe, which hath ſince beene conſiſted to me by my reſpected friend the traſlator, a Gentleman moſt ſincereſly deuoted to your Honor: For the ſubieſt it ſelvē I dare ſay nothing; ſince it is out of my element to judge. But I haue heard others report it (and ſome of them alſo iudicious) to be a thing firſt and excellently written in Italian; then traſlated into French, and generally received in both thoſe roongs through all christendome for a faithfull, elegant, ſinewie, and well digeſted historie: what the beauties of it are now in this English habite, I make your Honorable Lordſhip the firſt and moſt competent Cenſor; wiſhing that before you begin to read farther, you could but reade my ſilence.

*By him that wants muſt to expreſſe*

*his dueries to your Honor,*

EDW. BLOVNT.



## The Authors Apologie vnto the Reader.

**I**f it argues guilt to be accused, no man shall be innocent; he is therefore blamelesse, that being charged, defends himselfe: Gentle Reader, the first impression of this historie of Portugall, came no sooner foorth, but many (greedie to detract from another's glorie) did therein bitterly wrong me, accusing me to be ill affected to the Portugall nation in generall, and a severe censor of the private actions of great personages, and of the officers of that crowne. And albeit it behooveth him that shall write of late accidents, in the theater of this vniversall worlde, to beare the malice and follie of many; besides that, he shall hardly satisfie all; yet were it more tollerable, if some (content wrongfully to backbite me,) were not so transported with their owne passions, as to labour to haue the vse of this Booke forbidden throughout all Spaine; notwithstanding it had bee allowed by the Inquisitors: Albeit I knowe well that many men of judgement, and lovers of truth, haue shewed themselves fauorers of this worke: yet haue I thought it fitte in this second edition briefly to make my innocencie knownen. And althoogh they haue invented many more to these two slanders, yet will I satisfie every point I thinke necessarie, with this supposition for a firme ground, that the truth and diligence of a historie, be the qualitie that giue it spirit, and life, the which by no meanes can be infringed, without conuerting the most graue and profitable manner of writing, into the most vaine and preuidicall of all others: So as if my accusations grow from the truth and my diligence, I will not yeeld my selfe guilty, seeing I cannot amend them without error. But let them understande that I write onely to those Readers that can iudge of the trueth of a historie and the newtralitie of the writer: First of all, they must consider it was my chance to write the actions of that realme, which hapned in those fewe most unfortunate yeeres, which succeeded that of 77. so as there is no reason that such as report I was enclined to disgrace the Portugals, shoulde from the qualitie of the riue, finishterly iudge of the disposition of the writer; nether let them hold him partiall in the conquerors behalfe, seeing that in accidents of warre, they can hardly honour him that fals, but he that suffereth himselfe to be vanquished, must with his losse, willingly beare the blame that growes thereby: The which the ancient writers could so well obserue (whose example I do willingly imitate) that if Titus Lilius had begon and finished his historie in the course of Hannibals victorie, he had been held for a Carthaginian, and Iosephus in describing the calamities of the Jewes, and the triumphs of Titus, seemed a Romaine: If I writing of two battailes, wherein the one, the Portugals lost their king, in the other their king domme; besides that at sea, and the losse of the Terceres; what offence

## The Authors Apologie, &c.

offence is it, if I seeme not a Portugall? seeing that if I were one, I shoulde not seeme to  
be so: or how is it possible to convert this mornefull historie into prases, making him  
seeme valiant that loseth without doubt, if it had fallen to my lot, to write the deeds  
of that nation, whereby they made shew how apt they were to armes, and to noble at-  
tempts, as the victories they got of Castile at Alinbarorta, and at Trancosa, the con-  
quests they made in Affrick, their wonderfull navigations and happy successe in  
Asia, touched in this historie, as occasion required? I had not then beeene more faith-  
ful then now I am, though more acceptable to Portugals, yet men of iudgment do with  
one minde feele both gaine and losse, praise and dispraise, when they be trulye related:  
So as without doubt we may conclude, that no man ought to censure the inclination  
of the writer by the matter he treates of, be it either in favour or blame of the nation  
of which he writes; but onely of the truth and indifferencie he professeth. My accu-  
sers must also understand, that a Historiographer doth not wrong any nation, in de-  
scribing the qualities which the heauens that cover them, doe infuse vpon them, the  
aire they breath, and the water they drinke, especially when those properties be not  
base but excesses of vertue: As for example, if a man should (imitating Iulius Cæsar)  
write, that the French are in the beginning furious, and in the end, faint; he shoulde  
not for this shew him selfe an enemie, nor disgrace that mighty and warlike nation:  
And who shoulde say that the Spaniards are proud, shoulde he therefore impugne their  
reputation published through the worlde? neither shoulde he offend the Portugals, that  
should say they are naturally presumptuous, seeing they neither can deny it, nor do seeke  
to bide it; yea themselves are woon to say, that they live by opinion, that is, they sup-  
port themselves more, with that they imagine themselves to be, then with what they  
are in effect: my accusers shoulde likewise consider, that I offend not the Portugals in  
saying, that the ignorant regard not dangers afarre off, and feare them neare, if they  
meane not to separate them from the condition of man, and against all reason make  
equall ignorance with knowledge. Moreouer I would gladly knowe why it were not  
lawfull for me without offence, to relate with truth, the misfortunes and calamities of  
the Portugals, and the altered forme of their realme, as well as for some of the same  
nation to write many of their actions blame woorthis, and yet not helde disconteynous:  
The entrie which Henrie the bastard, king of Castill made armed into Porsgall,  
running from the confines of Gallitia, unto Lisbone, where he lodged, forcing obedi-  
ence in all places, was it not more dishonorable then any thing I haue written, king  
Ferdinand not being able to make any resistance? Read the Chronicles of Iohn the  
second: heir naturall king, being quiet and peaceable, what conspiracies were practi-  
ced against him by the nobilitie of his realme, so as he was forced to seeke reuenge by  
stabbing, and to behead some of the chiefe publikely, is not this a reprochfull thing?  
Although some alleage, that the king exceeded in the execution, & that by nature he  
was a severe man, and full of reuenge, yet there want not others that do number him  
amongst the saints; but be it as it may, it lies not in me to iudge, and yet this booke  
is Printed and sold in Lisbone, whereas my booke (that treates not of matters of so  
great doubt) is mightily abhurred. As for the priuate personages of the realme, nei-  
ther haue they reason to surmisse that I haue spoken of them, either with passion or im-  
modestie, the which I beleue themselves haue founde, if they haue had any leisure  
to read this historie with iudgement, or haue any perfecte knowledge in the Italian  
tong. But relying vpon the report of such as (inclined to flatter) reproone all wri-

## The Authors Apologie

tings, that are not corrupted with flatterie, it is no woorder, if they be induced to beleeme, that I haue written discورsly of them and with passion: But to make knowne the contrarie, they must understande, that of vices which are common to states, and to mens priuate humours, we may saie the like as hath beene saide of those that are commonly incident vnto nations, that they blemish not somuch as they ought to be concealed, but much alwaies vnto the state and qualitie of the person. For example, he that talking of a yoong gentleman shoulde say, that he were phantasticke, cholericke, amorous, arrogant, for all this he doth him no wrong; for besides they are no base affections, they are commonly incident to youth and nobilitie: In like sort, an officer respected by his prince, or any favorite whosoeuer, ought not repine, if he be described to be zealous, circumspect, ambitious, a temporizer, carefull in his owne causes, and carelessse of others, being qualities that do accompane princes fauours: so as when I touch any one with such like, no man of judgement ought to greene more, then if I shoulde terme him cholericke or flegmasike, being certaine natural qualities, as the humours and inclinations: Norwithstanding when I particullarly note such points as seeme blame woorthe, althougt they be publike and apparant, yet doe I suspend my iudgement, attributing the faults to the emulation of courts, and the ambition of competitors: And such as will not be satisfied with this exception shewe plainly they desire to be flattered; but they strive in vaine, for I esteeme flatterie in a writer, to be like the sinne of idolatrie. Some haue beene so sensible as to note for anexesse (speaking of any officer) to saye couerly, that men transported slander him with some secreter action, to such I can make no answer, seeing they are not content that I learne them passionate than blame others, that I reprehende surmises, that I call in question that which others affirme for certaine, excusing in a manner the accused.

Others haue laboured to publish vnto the world, that in my relation touching the title of the realme, I haue shewed my selfe partiall for the Catholique king: To such I can not say any thing, but wish them to be advised, they accuse not the divine prudence as partiall, which depriveth of life twentie successors of that crowne, all preceding the saide king. But I woulde haue these men to tell me if in this historie (where I coulde not alleage Bartoll nor Bald) I haue omitted any one point of importance, which hath beene alleged by the pretenders, and haue not set euery reason downe as their owne aduocats did plead it: Let them consider if there be any thing omitted touching the representation of the Dutchesse Katherine, of the transmission of Rainucus Farnet, of the precedency of Phillibert duke of Savoy, in case that Henrie had oulined Philip, of the election the people pretended, of Antonie his grounds, and his pretended legitimatiōn; and so conclude, if there were anything defective of that which Queen Katherine of Medicis alleged against the eleven kings of this realme: Now if all these reasons which I haue so largely set downe, can not hinder the king of Spaine from being the eldest kinsemān that Henrie left when he died, a male, and legitimate, what faulte is there in me? If men will not beleeme that Katherines prerogative by her father be of more vertue and efficacie then Philips owne right, and that the imperfection derived from his mother doth more prejudice the king, then that of the Dutchesse which remaines in her owne person, how can I helpe it? It is most manifest, that such onely as are partiall haue

## to the Reader.

bane held me partiall in relating plainly, this title with the rest, without giving  
mine owne indgement, and the rather for that they see such as are indifferent, doe  
happily esteeme it better then the rest: I may not be more redious in this respect, ho-  
ping it shal suffice for euerie man of a free judgement to discerne mine innocencie,  
from the malice or ignorance of mine aduersaries. But moreover I entreat them that  
know me to be a writer not accustomed to lie, to consider that I haue written to Ita-  
lians in the Italian toong, who could not perfectly understande the substance of this  
historie, if I had given them lesse knowledge of men whom they knew not: And so  
verifie this, let a Portugall writer in Italy describe in his owne toong, vno his owne  
countrymen the tumults of any of our cities, he shall well finde, (if he desire to be  
understoode in Portugall) whether he may for beare to speifie much more then I  
haue done, of the humours of the head and principall members of that pro-  
vince whereof he writes. But if all this sufficeth not to insti-  
fie me; I make God iudge of the sincerite of  
mine hart, and the indifferen-  
cie I haue strictly ob-  
served.

THE GENEALOGIE OF THE  
Kings of Portugall from the beginning of that  
kingdome, unto the ende of the house of Por-  
tugall, with the pretendants to  
that Crowne.

H ENRIB issued from Besançon, first Earle of Portugall, married with Therasie daughter to Alphonse the sixt, King of Castile, about the yeere of our Lord 1090. by whom he had  
Alphonse Henrie, which was the first king.  
Therasie Henrie, and  
one other daughter married to Ferdinand Mendes.

1. *Alphonse Henrie*, first Duke and King of Portugall, sonne to the saide Henrie, he succeeded his father about the yeere 1112. he tooke vpon him the title of King about the yeere 1139. he raignd in all about 72. yeeres: he married with Malfade Manrique de Lara, by whom he had issue  
*Sanches*, who was after King.  
*Vrraca*, Queene of Leon.  
*Therasie*, Countesse of Flanders.  
*Malfade*.
2. *Sanches* the first, sonne to the said *Alphonse*, about the yeere 1184. he raignd 28. yeeres: he married *Aldoncia*, daughter to Count Raimond Berenger of Barcelone, by whom he had  
*Alphonse*, King.  
*Ferdinand*, Earle of Flaunders.  
*Peter*, Earle of Vrgelin Arragon.  
*Henrie*.  
*Therasie*, wife to *Alphonse* of Leon.  
*Malfade*, Queen of Castile.  
*Sanches*, a Nunne.  
*Blanche*, and  
*Berenguela*.
3. *Alphonse* the second, sonne to *Sanches*, the yeere 1212. he raignd 11. yeeres, and married *Vrraca* of Castile, daughter to *Alphonse* the noble, by whom he had  
*Sanche*, King.  
*Alphonse*, King.  
*Ferdinand*.  
*Leonor*, Queen of Denmark.

4. *Sanche*,

4. *Sanche* the second, called *Capello*, sonne to *Alphonse* the second, the yeere 1223. he raigned in troubles vnto the yeere 1257. he married *Mencia Lopez*, by whom he had no children : he died in Castile incapable to rule.

5. *Alphonse* the third, called the *Brave*, brother to *Sanche* the second, of a regent he made himselfe King abour the yeere 1257. & raigned 22.yeeres : he married with *Masilde* Countesse of Boloigne in Picardie , by whom he had *Ferdinand* or *Peter*, & *Robert*: in her life time he married with *Beatrice*, bastard daughter to *Alphonse* the 10. called the wife King of Castile, by whom he had

*Denis*,King.

*Alphonse*.

*Blanche*,a Nunne.

*Constance*.

6. *Denis*,sonne to *Alphonse* the third, the yeere 1279. he raigned 48.yeeres, and was married to *Isabella*, daughter to *Peter* King of Arragon, by whom he had

*Constance*,Queene of Castile.

*Alphonse*,who was after King.

*Peter*,Earle of Portalegre.

7. *Alphonse* the fourth,sonne to *Denis*,in the yeere 1323. he raigned 32.yeeres, and married *Beatrice* of Castile,by whom he had

*Peter*,that was King.

*Marie*.

*Alphonse*.

*Denis*.

*Jean*.

*Elvira*,Queene of Aarragon.

8. *Peter*, called the cruell, sonne to *Alphonse* the fourth, the yeere 1357. hee raigned 10. yeeres , and married *Blanche*,daughter to *Peter* King of Castile , whom he put away, and after married with *Constance* daughter to *Jean Emanuell*,by whom he had

*Lewis*,who died yoong.

*Ferdinand*,King.

*Marie*,wife to *Ferdinand* of Arragon.

*Beatrice*,died yoong.

And of *Agnes de Castro*,a supposed wife,he had

*Alphonse*.

*Jean*.

*Denis*.

*Beatrice*,Countesse of Albuquerque.

And

And by *Therasie Gallega* his concubine, he had  
*Jean*, who was King.

9. *Ferdinand*, sonne to *Peter*, the yeere 1367. he raigned about 17. yeeres, and married *Leonor Telles de Meneses*, by whom he had  
*Beatrice*, *Quene of Castile*.

10. *Jean*, called of good memorie, sonne to the said *Peter*, the yeere 1383. he raigned about 49. yeeres, and married with *Philip*, daughter to *Jean* of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, by whom he had  
*Blanche*.

*Alphonse*.

*Edward*, King.

*Peter* Duke of Coimbra, who had by *Isabell* of Arragon his wife, *Peter* that was Constable; *Jean*, King of Cypres; *Isabell*, Queen of Portugall; *Philip*, a Nunne; *Jean*s, a Cardinall; *Beatrice*, wife to the Lord of Raufstein.

*Henrie*, Duke of Viseo.

*Isabell*, Dutchesse of Burgundie.

*Jean*, master of Saint Iaques.

*Ferdinand*, master of the order called d' *Avis*, or Saint Benet.

11. *Edward*, sonne to *Jean*, the yeere 1433. he raigned 5. yeeres: he married *Leonor* of Arragon, daughter to *Ferdinand* the 1. by whom he had  
*Alphonse*, King.

*Ferdinand*, Duke of Viseo, who had by his wife,  
*Philip*.

*Leonor*, wife to *Frederike* the 3. Emperour.

*Catherine*.

*Jean*, Queen of Castile.

*Beatrice*, wife to *Jean*, Master of Saint Iaques.

*Leonor*, Queen.

*Dominique*.

*Emanuell*, King.

*Isabell*, Dutchesse of Bragance.

12. *Alphonse* the fift, called the *African*, sonne to *Edward*, the yeere 1438. he raigned 43. yeeres: hee married *Isabell*, daughter to *Peter* Duke of Coimbra his vncle, by whom he had

*Jean*, who liued but a while.

*Jeanne*.

*Jean*, King.

13. *Jean*, the 2. son to *Alphonse* the 5. the yeere 1481. he raigned 14. yeeres, and married *Leonor*, daughter to *Ferdinand* Duke of Viseo, by whom he had  
*Alphonse*, who died before his father.

*Emanuell*,

14. *Emanuell*, sonne to *Ferdinand* Duke of Viseo, borne in the yeere 1468. began to raigne in the yeere 1495. and raigned ffeue yeeres: he died at Lisbone the third of September 1521. he married *Isabell* the eldest daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabell*, King and Queene of Castile, by whom he had *Michaell*, who died yoong: and to his second wife, he tooke *Marie* sister of the said *Isabell*, by whom he had

*Jean*, who was after King.

*Isabell*, wife to *Charles* the 5. Emperor, of whom is issued *Philip*, King of Spaine.

*Beatrice*, wife to *Charles* the third Duke of Sauoy, from whom issued *Emanuell Phillibert*, father to *Charles Emanuell* now Duke of Sauoy.

*Lewis*, father to *Ambonie* the Bastard.

*Henrie* Cardinall, King.

*Alphonse*, Cardinall.

*Katherine*.

*Ferdinand*.

*Edward*, husband to *Isabell*, daughter to *Jean* Duke of Bragance, by whom he had *Marie*, wife to *Alexander Farnese* Prince of Parma, father to *Rainuce* now Duke of Parma; and *Katherine* wife to *Jean* the second Duke of Bragance, sonne to *Theodoze*.

*Ambonie*, who died soone after his birth.

And of *Elenor*, daughter to *Philip* Archduke of Austria, sister to *Charles* the fist, he had

*Charles*, who died yoong.

*Marie*, who died a maide of the age of 56. yeeres.

15. *Jean* the third, sonne to *Emanuell* and of *Marie* his wife, borne the 7. of Iune 1502. he began to raigne the 15. of December 1521. and raigned 36. yeeres; he died the 27. of Iune, 1557. and married with *Katherine* sister to *Charles* the 5. Emperour, the 5. of September, 1525. by whom he had

*Alphonse*.

*Marie*, the first wife to *Philip* the second King of Spaine, of whom issued *Charles* that is dead.

*Katherine*.

*Beatrice*.

*Emanuell*.

*Philip*.

*Jean*, Prince of Portugall, who had by *Jeanne* daughter to *Charles* the fist, Emperour, *Sebastien*, who was King.

*Ambonie*.

16. *Sebastien*, sonne to Prince *Jean*, borne the 20. of Januarie, 1554. he began to raigne the yeere 1557. and raigned 21. yeeres; he died in the battell against the Moores the 7. of August, 1578. being vnmarried.

17. *Henrie*

17. *Henric, Cardinall, and Primat of Portugall, sonne to King Emanuel by  
Marie his wife, borne the 16. of Ianuarie, 1512, in the yeere 1578. he raig-  
ned about a yeere and a halfe, and died in the beginning of the yeere  
1580. he was the last of the house of Portugall, to whom succeeded*

18. *Philip, sonne to Charles the fift, Emperour, and of Isabell, King of Spaine,  
&c. borne the 7. of May, 1527. &c.*

9

# THE VNITING OF THE REALME OF PORTVGALL TO THE CROWNE OF CASTILL.

The Contents of the first Booke.

*The originall of the Realme of Portugall, the description thereof with their newe conquests : The life of King Sebastian, his first voyage into Affrick, his enteriue with the Catholique King at Guadalupa, the preparatiues of warre made at Lisbone for the enterprize of Affrick : the kings departure from Portugall with his armie.*



Vndertake the Historie of the Realme of PORTVGALL; from the time that king *Sebastian* the first, passed into Affrick with a mightie armie to make warre against the Moores, which inhabite Mauritania Tingitana; till that (after many afflictions) this Realme was vnited to those of Spaine, vnder *Phillip* the second king of Castill.

A subiect of importance for the generall state, by the increase of power to so mightie a king : yea considerable for the diuers accidents hapned in so short a time, contrarie to common hope ; and profitable, by the examples of the instabilitie of this worlde, and the dangers that Princes and people runne into by their ill grounded resolutions. I hope to relate these euentz sincerely with truth, hauing beene present at the greatest part, and receiuied the rest from a faithfull Reporter. I am voide of passion, an enimie to the vncorrupt writing of Historiographers, being neither borne in any of those countries, nor subiect or vassall to any king or prince. But before I enter into the welspring of those warres, I haue thought it conuenient to make a briefe relation of the state of the Realme, of the scituacion, beginnings, enterprises, and such like, to the end, that

*The first Booke of the*

being to report the fall, we may withall see the rising thereof, by what  
meanes it encreased, and was supported, how and when it declined,  
and finally altered his forme.

*The description of the Realme of  
Portugall.*

**P**ortugall is a part of Spaine, lying vpon the furthest borders of the Ocean. It bordereth vpon the East with the kingdome of Castill, vpon the West with the great Ocean, vpon the North with Gallicia, and towards the South with the Atlantike sea and Andelouzia. The late writers haue deuided it into sixe countries, which they call Comarques, that is, beyond the riuers of Tagus, Estremadura, betwixt Duero and Minies (and this with the countrie which stretcheth to Coimbra is the ancient Portugall) behinde the mountaines Beira, and Algarues, which last hath also the Title of a kingdome. It containes in circuit 850. miles, whereof 400. run along the Sea shore, the rest is maine land, which maketh it in forme long and narrow; It hath in it eighteene cities, with many great villages and castles, in number aboue 470. Three of these cities haue Archbischopricks, Braga, Lisbone, and Euora: whereof the first is Lord both spirituall and temporall. Nine haue their Bishopricks, Coimbra, Lamego, Visco, Porto, Miranda, Portalegro, Guarda, Leiria and Eluas: the other ffeue remaine without dignitie, and those are Bragança, Tauria, Lagos, Faro and Silues: These last sower be in the kingdome of Algarues, whereof one Bisshop hath the Title. It is watered with many riuers, whereof two are most famous, Tagus and Duero; the first runneth by the walles of Lisbone, and sixe or seuen miles off dischargeth it selfe into the Sea; the other doth the like by the citie of Porto, and two miles from thence falleth into the Ocean: from their mouthes vnto the citie they are no riuers, but as it were armes and bosomes of the Sea; and most assured and capable portes for many great ships which may saile farre vp against the streme, but further in that of Lisbone then of the other, whereas many great vessels passe fifteene or twentie miles vp beyonde the towne: besides these two portes, twentie miles from Lisbone, to-wards

wards the South, is Settual, which hath a small Tower at the entrie thereof, with a port capable of many ships. And in Algarues is Tauira, Lagos, and Villeneuve; these three are of reasonable capacitie, the rest are lesse, with many pleasant plashes. The seate of the countrie is commodious for all partes of the world; being in the middest of many great kingdome, fit for the ancient and later nauigations: For turning towards the West, they discouer directly Gallicya, Biscaia, Fraunce, England, Germanie, & the other Northerne Regions. Before them lieth the Islands of Azores ( otherwise called Terceres) the fortunate Islands, with the countries called the West Indies. On the left had lieth Andclouzia, & the Streits of Gibraltar, by the which they enter into the Mediterranean Sea, for the Nauigation of Italie and Greece. And leauing the Streits coasting Affrick, on the left hand they discouer many nations and new people, vnknowne to the auncient, who beleueed that the burning Zone was inhabitable: from which places many ships arrive at Lisbone with great riches, chieflie from the East Indies, the which the Portugalles themselues (as we shall declare hereafter) conquered: besides their traffique with the kingdome of Castile, which lieth behinde them.

Lisbone is the best and chiefest of all their Cities, on the which the whole Realme dependes: It is verie populous, yea many beleue that of all the cities of Christendome (except Paris) it containes the greatest number of people. The aire is verie wholesome and temperate; distant from the Equinoctiall nine and thirtie degrees; and with the ebbing and flowing of the salt water (which is great vpon that coast) there bloweth alwaies a temperate winde, which doth refresh it. It is neither wholie plaine nor all mountaines, but deuided into ffe small hilles, betwixt th'one and the other of these, the plaine extends vnto the Riuer. It hath beene walled, whereof some part continues to this day; but for that it hath beene since much augmented, that part without the walles exceeds the other in greatness: There stands vpon an high hill a very ancient castell, which hath no other strength in it but his heighth, nor any guard, but is referued as a prison for noble men. At the mouth of Tagus, on the citie side, stands a Fortress built after the newest manner, which they cal the rocke of Saint Julian, made to defend the entrie of the River. The fruite it bringeth foorth surpasseth all their neighbours in bountie: and

although it yeeldeth not corne sufficient to feede them, yet haue they prouision daily out of Fraunce and Germanie. The whole Realme is at this present greatly inhabited, being replenished with manie Noblemen and Gentlemen, and much building of shippes, and vessels for sundrie Nauigations: Besides the order of the knights of Saint Iaques and Alcantara, or of Saint Bennet, which they call *d'Avis* (of a place so named,) these carrie a red crosse, and these a greene, like vnto the Knights of Castill) when as the Templers were suppressed, they did institute another order with the same reuenewes; which they call the Knights of Christ, bearing a red crosse, and in the midst a white, the which are bound to goe to the warre against Infidels, to whome Pope *Alexander* the sixth, did since graunt libertie to marrie. And their Kings hauing encreased their reuenewes, a great part of their Nobilitie affected this order, although they haue many times receiued men base and viworthie. A great part of this Realme was sometimes vnited to the crowne of Castill, but in the yeere of our Lord one thousand one hundredth and tenne, *Alphons* the sixth being King, that part towards the north was separated, giuing it in mariage for a certaine tribute, to *Henrie* nephew to the Earle of Burgundie, borne at Besanson, marrying *Tberasie* his bastard daughter: for that comming out of Fraunce with *Count Raimond* of Tholouse his vnkle, who was after Earle of Gallicia; he went to the warres which the Castillians had against the Moores that possessed Spaine. And althoough some deriuie the originall of this *Count Henrie* from Hungarie, others from Aragon, and from other places; yet this is the most approoued opinion: But it hapneth in the originall of Kings, as of great riuers, whose mouthes are knowne, but not their springs.

*The Portugals conquests.*

Portugall was then obscure, vntilled, poore, and reduced into streight limits, yet *Alphons Henry*, sonne vnto this first Earle, did greatly augment it by his valiant exploits, taking many places from the Moores by force, against whom hauing woone a great victorie, in a pitched battaile, he was proclaimed King by his soldiors, in a place called Campo d'Ourique, and following his victorie, woone Saint Arem and Lisbone, remaining peaceable Lord of the Realme; he had the title of King confirmed by Pope *Alexander* the fourth, for a certayne small tribute. Their first king which succeeded him, named *Alphonso* the thirde, did no lesse augment it by another meanes:

For

For hauing ( before his comming to the Crowne ) married with *Matilda Countesse of Boloigne in Picardie*, being now in possession of the Realme, he put her away of his owne proper motion, and without cause, taking to wife *Beatrice*, bastard daughter to *Alphonso*, the tenth King of Castill surnamed the wise, to haue in dowrie with her ( as indeed he had ) the kingdome of *Algarues*. So as their lymits being extended as they be at this present, and the Moores subdued, who kept them in martiall exercise, they began since to make war with the Kings of Castill, although their Dominions were alwaies greater then the Portugals; the which they did so often and with such obstinacie, that these nations all of one continent, issued from one stocke, & of one language, were enflamed one against the other with so mortall a hatred, that it remaineth euen vntill this daie, but more with the Portugals then the Spaniards. And although these late warres did breed them more honor then profit; yet were they not without some vtilitie; for that this continuall exercise did maintaine them in discipline and keepe them from delighes and idlenes, capitall enimies to any State. Since which time they haue not remained idle, but (inured vnto war) wonne vnto themselues some honour vnder *John the first*, at the perswasion of *Henry his sonne*, they laboured to take from the Moores certaine places in Affricke, the which succeeded happily. For intime they became Maisters in *Mauritania Tingitana* of the townes of *Ceute*, *Tanger* and *Arzilla*, (and this is that auncient Zillia) and other places; which since they haue either lost, or abandoned to the Moores (as they did Arzilla) being of great charge and small profit. They onely maintained and defended the two first, and built towards the West, *Mazagon*, being seated at the mouth of *Hercules straites*; for holding those places the Moores shold not harbor so neere vnto Spaine, but they serue, as a buckler vnto that Prouince. By reason of these euents they extended their hopes yet further, so as the Ilands of *Madera*, not farre distant, and the *Terceres*, lying from *Lishbone* 850. miles, in the fortie degree of latitude ( then vntilled and vninhabited ) were by them discouered and peopled: And not yet content ( especially the said *Henry*, who aspiring to higher matters, though with lessc hope then the effect which followed) they began (sailing through the Ocean) to coast Affricke, searching new countries and nations: So as

running along that coast by the space of many yeeres, they went on so far, that comming to the other Hemisphere, they discouered all Ethiopia. And although *Alphonso* the fift of that name, and the twelfth King renewed the war against the Spaniard, yet did they not discontinue their nauigation, to their great good; but in the end ha-  
ving made peace with the catholique King *Ferdinand*, in the yeere of our Lord 1479. they had more leisure to think of their new conquest. It is worth the obseruing, that in capitulations then made, it was par-  
ticularly specified, that the peace was concluded for a hundredth  
yeeres and one; naming alwaies a certaine for an vncertaine: But this  
prooued a prophesie: for it continued iust a hundredth yeeres & one;  
for so much time passed from those wars vnto this which I vndertake  
to write: if the words of the Treatie agree with the qualitie of the  
event. The Realme was greatly strengthened both with people and  
wealth, and since encreased more; when as *Ferdinand* and *Isabell*,  
King and Queene of Castill, in the yeere 1482. expelled the lewes  
out of their Dominions being then in great numbers: they agreed  
with *John* the second, successor to *Alphonso* the fift, and obtained li-  
bertie (paying eight duckars for euerie person) to enter into his  
country, vpon condition to depart at a certaine time prefixed, and  
that the King should appoint them shippynge to transport them. So  
as vpon those conditions (which were not fully obserued) there en-  
tered about 2000 o. families, and in euery one ten persons at the least:  
the time of their departure expired, and not performed, many remai-  
ned slaues; others either vnwilling to depart, or to loose their goods  
were baptizid, as the rest had done that remayned in Castill. So as  
vnder the name of new Christians, the greatest part remayned in  
Portugall vnknownen; being vndistinguised, and allied for money  
with some Noblemen of the countrey; they laboured to be admit-  
ted for citizens: And although (according vnto reason of State) this  
manner of peopling were not good, being of a nation different in  
blood and law, the which in multiplying might cause an important  
diuisioun, being many in number; yet brought it great profit to the  
Crown. Since in the time of *Emanuell* the fourteenth King, who  
began to raigne in the yeere 1495. they continued their new nauig-  
ation, with greater seruencie, and more quiet: For the Castillians  
being growen mightier by meanes of the forces annexed to their

Crowne,

Crowne, and hauing by new alliances drawen vnto them the loue of the Portugales, the one durst no more contend, & the other suffered them to liue in peace. His predecessors hauing many yeeres coasted along Affricke, they built a fort at Argin; tooke the Islands of Hesperides, which now are called Cape-Vert; fortifyed the Castle of Saint George in Ethiopia, which they call Mina; discouered the Princes Island, and that of Saint Thomas, which lyeth perpendicularly vnder the Equinoctiall, with certaine smal Ilands thereabouts, they became Lords ouer all. And passing further, they entred into league with the Realmes of Congo, and Angolla, all Moores; hauing passed the great Cape of \* *Buena Esperanca*, and the Island of Saint Laurence, <sup>Of good hope.</sup> right against it vpon the mayne land they became Lords of Soffolla, Mozambique, and Melynde: where according to the humours and qualitie of the people; they had won some by loue, & some by force, although for the most part where they set footing, they preuailed by Armes. In the time of the said *Emanuell* they passed the mouth of the red sea, traffiquing at Socotra, & Calahiate, they did runthrough the Persian gulph, and (hauing passed the mouth of the riuier Indus) they entred into India, where first by traffique, & after by force, they landed at Calecur, Cochin, and other places thereabouts; but more strongly then in any other place vnder the conduct of *Alphonso Albuquerque*, a famous captaine at Goa, a small Illand in the Realme of Accen, neere vnto the countrey of Idalcan, the which is now a citie with an Archbihopricke, chife of that State, where the Vizeroy maketh his ordinarie aboad. They haue gone along all that coast building small fortresses, and hauing turned backe to the mouth of the said gulph, they are become Maisters of the Ile of Ormus; and along that coast haue conquered the cities of Chaul, Damane, Bazain, and Diu. Upon the point of the coast of Mallabar (which they call the Cape of Comery) turning towards the gulph of Gangis, they haue traffique, and fortresses in the Ile of Zeilan, which some take to bee the ancient Taprobana, where groweth the best Cinnamom. And hauing passed the said gulph towards the East, & the mouth of Gangis, they discouered the other coast, at the point whereof (which the ancient call the golden Chersonesse) they became Lords of the towne of Malaca, ffeue and twentie miles from the great Illand of Somatra (held also of some for Taprobana.) And passing on further,

not onely by their traffique, in the Realme of Pegu, and other countries vpon the firme lande; but also by their nauigation, they haue discouered the greater and lesser Iaua, the kingdome of China, the great sea of the Isles of the Molucques, from whence come all the Cloves and Nutmegs, with many other drugs, the Ile of Iappon: To conclude, they haue sayled on so far as they haue met in those quarters with the Castillians that came to the Conquest of the West Indies, discouered by *Christopher Columbus* a Geneuoys, in the name of the Kings of Castill. Of late daies some by these two nauigations haue compassed the whole world, and ioyned East to West: They haue also in the time of Emanuell conquered ( opposite to Ethiopia, and to the Cape of \* *Buena esperanca*) the prouince which they cal S.a Croix, commonly called Brazill, ioyning to Peru, running 1500. miles in length, yet stretcheth it not far into the maine land: they haue deuided it into eight parts, which they call Captaine-ships, and haue in a manner giuen it to those that haue conquered it, reseruing to the King the greatest part of the iurisdiction. And although for a time it did seeme of small profit, so as the criminall Iudges of Portugall did, and doe yet still, confine and banish thither theues, murtherers, and such like malefactors; yet being fertile, it is greatly inhabited, so as at this day there are great dwellings and manie buildings for sugars. The principall townes be the Bay of Al-saints and Pernanbuc: All these countries of new conquest ( whereof we haue made mention) are rich, and of great importance, from thence commeth yeerely (as we haue said) into Portugall, ships laden with sugars, spice, drugs, stones, with many other precious things and of great value. And to say the truth, this nation is woorthie of great praise; that hauing but a small and barren countrey, they haue made themselues equall ( by the good institutions, frugalitie, and vertue of some of their Kings) not onely to all the kingdomes of Spaine: but haue gloriously maintained war against Castil, a Realme far more rich and mightie, then that of Portugall, and their other neighbours. They haue shewed the like vertue, nay rather greater, far from home, as well in Affricke, as at the Indies, hauing not onely perfourmed so woonderfull a nauigation, as was held in the beginning by the wisest to be rash and foolish; but also giuen such testimonie of their Armes in those parts, that the writers hold many of their

\* *Of good  
hope.*

their deeds to be miraculously performed, by reason of the inequality wherewith they were attempted, hauing shewed themselues in fight at sea, and defending of forts, more valiant than in any thing else. And besides the conquest of so great an empire, in so long and large a sea, as we haue written; it hath caused an other good of greater importance for Christian religion; the which is now planted in all those countries: So as whole Realnes which were Idolatrous, are now obedient to the Apostolique See ( to the great commendation of the Iesuits, whom in that countrey they call Apostles ) who haue and doe still maintaine a spirituall war. Notwithstanding the Portugals who for the space of 460. yeeres had beeene busied in these glorious attempts, who had planted their crosses in the farthest bounds of the East, whereas the name of Christ was not yet knownen, they haue not since followed the steps begunne, but contented with the weake borders of the Indian seas, they haue not pearst into the maine lande, but ( corrupted with the pleasures of the people, and enriched with the traffique of marchandize ) they haue beeene content to enjoy their gettings, not acknowledging the benefite of the giuer of graces: and hauing conuerted the militarie reuenewes of Commandries into pleasures, they became idle and vaine; attributing to themselues the honors and ceremonies which faithfull Christians reserued vnto God: they liued long in this estate, yet in good opinion of the worlde. This corruption and weakenes of the Realme brought in by the delights of Asia, was in the education of king *Sebastian* discouered, and reiected by the Iesuits, who as religious men, desired and laboured much to reforme it: But they applied not fit medicines for so languishing a body, nor considering the impossibilitie sodainly to reclaime a whole people alreadie corrupted with libertie, to the extreame rigor and sparingnes of these Fathers. A hard matter to performe not onely in a kingdome, but also in the precinct of their monasteries: Whereupon they made sumptuarie lawes, and especially vpon viuals; which the auncient Spartaines coulde hardly haue tolerated: They did specifie what meates were allowed, and what defensed, distinguished wherein euerie man should employ his money, taking from them in a manner all that came from forraigne countries, were they for profit or pleasure. So as these violent remedies, prooued not onely unprofitable and ridiculous, but did confirme

firme the opinion of such, as hold that Clergie men are as vncapable to gouerne in politique affaires, as secular magistrates be in ecclesiastical causes : but God ( when he meaneth to punish ) taketh away mans vnderstanding, and giueth him an ouerweening spirit, euen so did he with the Portugals, sending them chastisements for their offences, committed in time of prosperitie; or by his secret iudgements, when as they thought themselues most secure, their fall was the greater being in their greatest glorie. For this nation the proudest in the world, in this last warre of Africk, became slaues vnto the Arabians and Moores; and being free, in a short time by their warre against the Castillians, were conquered by them, whom they holde for their capitall enimies.

*The life of  
king Seba-  
stian.*

The afflictions of this Realme tooke their beginning in the twentieth yeere of the age of *Sebastia[n]*, who (borne after the death of his father, & a little before the decease of his grandfather) (by entreaties, and to the farall ruine of his subiects) strong of body, and of a couragious minde, full of ouerweening, (the which is a naturall vice in Portugals, not content with his owne dominions) resolued (as it were by force) to alter the quiet, which his Realme had so long enjoyed. And although it seemed hard of execution, being inuironed with the territories of *Phillip* of Austria King of Spaine, his deare friend and kinsman, more mightie than himselfe, with whom he might not contend, nor passe by land into any other countrey. But as it is easie to perish for him that is desperate, he let him vnderstande the excessive desire he had to ruine himselfe & all his. He had first plotted a warre against the Indians, which his kinsmen and subiects woulde not consent vnto. But as there was some difficultie wholie to withdrawe the yoong Prince ( who had a warlike spirite ) from this enterprise, such as were neere about him laboured to diuerte him by meanes of an other which they laide before him; turning all his resolutions vpon Africk to indomage the Moores which liue in that part which is calld Mauritania Tingitana, whereas the Portugals maintaine ( to their great charge ) vpon the borders of the Sea, those three forenamed fortresses, Ceute, Tanger, and Mazagon, the buckler and key of Spaine; by which the Moores haue heretofore conquered it. But this diuersion whereunto they perswaded the King, was cause of great ruines, proceeding from want of judgement; for although it were

were hard wholie to dissuade him from the enterprise of the Indies, and therefore conuenient to represent vnto him some other action; yet shoulde they aduisedly haue foreseen, not to drawe him from one mischiese to thrust him into a greater. But these men diuerted him from an enterprise farre off, and of hard execution, by representing vnto him a neerer, easier to effect, but more perillous. And although they surmized he would not haue vndertaken it but with deliberation, yet shoulde they not haue giuen too much confidence to his yoong age, for the which the Iesuits were greatly blamed, who hauing planted their religion in this Realme more then in any other of the worlde, and with more zeale, as enimies to the enimies of God, they did encourage this yoong Prince ( whom Queene Katherine had giuen to them in charge ) to this enterprise with carefull instructions, the which as then they might easily effect: But finding the King soone after readie to execute it with rashnes, they had no more the credite to diuert him being in disgrace. So as this yoonge King bred vp amongst women, religious persons, delights and pleasures, had a more bould and warlike spirite, then if he had beene borne and nourished in the middest of armes. He raised certaine troupes of footemen of his people of Lisbone, whom he did inrowle and traine vp to the Pike and Harquebuse, sending them once a weeke to the fielde to practise, with intent to vse them when neede shoulde require.

The which he staid not long to effect: For in the yecre 1574. he <sup>Sebastians</sup> assembled ( against the will of the wifest ) certaine of his souldiers, and <sup>first voyage</sup> with fower gallies and certaine ships and caruels passed into Affrick, <sup>into Affrick.</sup> ynder colour to visire his Fortes; although in his minde he had a desire to do more then he spake, and as yoong and without experience, thought to effect more then he did. Being arriued in those countries, he onely discouered, finding his owne weakenesse, but in light skirmishes, which are made daily vpon those frontires with the Moores: he shewed himselfe most willing to be in person, vexing himselfe when he coulde not do as he desired; but as a royll person it behoued him to containe himselfe within the rearmes of grauitie, the which hee often exceeded. Hee returned soone to Lisbone, still deuising with himselfe some newe manner of warre, and was so disquieted and carefull in his conceit, that he neither saide nor did any thing

thing that tended to other end, deuising not as a king, but as a priuate souldier, to accustome his body to labour, seeming vnto him by this meanes to make himselfe more strong and better able to endure the discommodities of warre. This inclination (wherein the heauens had some part) was not gainsaid by any of his chiefe Counsell, nor kinsmen of riper age, who might haue dissuaded him, and drawn him to haue enjoyed his Realme: For although the action seemed rash, yet ambition and feare of the Kings disgrace were of such force, that the Nobles, Magistrates, and great persons ( who might haue forced him ) durst not open their mouthes, nor oppose themselues against his will: and if any one did mutter or speake to the contrary, they were men of base qualitie, and not admitted.

The Cardinall *Henry* his vnckle, brother to *John* the thirde his grand-father, and Queene *Katherine* ( in whom flatterie shoulde finde no place ) had small credite with the King, neither did they vs the authoritic they might haue had, both fearing they shoulde not preuaile; but loose (with the Kings disgrace) the small commandement was yet remaining in them; so as by a fatall silence they suffered this yoong Prince to retурne the second time into Affrick, with apparant perill: wherein *Peter D'Alcasoua* was a chiefe actor, who hauing before time beene Secretarie of the Realme, and Counsellour of the State, greatly fauoured of King *John*, and Queene *Katherine*, was now disgraced, and put from his places when as the Cardinall *Henry* gaue the government to King *Sebastian*, the which hapned more by emulation, and for that the Cardinall woulde seitle a newe forme, and plant newe officers, in the managing of the affaires, then for any faults that were imputed vnto him, were they true or false. „ But in the declining of fauorites it alwaies chanceth, that faults serue rather to iustifie the ambition of an other then the offenders punishment: And in these afflictions he had liued content, for being wise, and rich, he had borne his aduersitie with a constant courage, still expecting some meanes to retурne into his place and dignitie; the which fell out easily by the practise and industrie of another. For *Martin Gonzales de Camera* his competitour, hauing succeeded him in his offices, with some other depending of the Iesuites, whom the Cardinall sought to bring in, they had no lesse conflict with their enimies then *Peter* had with his, for that *Alvaro de Castro* fauorite to the king,

of a contrarie faction, with some of his friendes (desiring secretly to withdraw the Kings affection from *Martin* and his partie) tooke occasion to effect it, when as the King was at Cape Saint *Vincent*, whether he went in Sommer to satisfie the desire he had to go to sea, making him beleue (and it may be not without cause) that *Martin* and the fathers (as men ignorant in matters of State, & of the wealth of Princcs) had wasted the treasure of the Crowne, and cut off the meanes, for all such enterprizes as he might execute, by their lawes made vpon the changes of money: the which if they did not reuoke, it were impossible to effect his glorious designes. This was a deadly blowe; yet did they adde one more of greater moment, giuing the King to vnderstande (being yoong and high minded) that he was oppressed by them, that they ruled in effect, and he in shew; and they passed on so farre, that they caused a Secretarie of the chamber well fauoured of the King, and a great talker, (presenting him one day with a commandement of small importance to signe) to say vnto him that he might boldly subscribe it, for that hee was king vntill he shoulde returne to Lisbone: so as mingling sport with truth, they drew this yoong Prince from the affection he bare to the ministers which had beene giuen him by the Queene and Cardinall, and changed the doctrine wherein he had beene nourished. But *Peter D'Alcasoua* reapt the whole fruite thereof, for the King being estranged from his enimies, and the lawes made by them reuoked, *Aluaro de Castro* the author thereof died, none of his faction remaining save *Emanuel Quaresinia*, who had the office which they call *Dispaccio*, of great importance, beeing Controwler of the Kings rewardes, who hauing neither experience, nor autoritie to maintaine himselfe long in this degree, nor yet iudgement to contend with *Alcasoua*, the said *Peter* laid holde of this occasion, to recouer his former place: And to effect it the more safely, he married *Leves* his eldest sonne, with the daughter of *Christopher de Tauora*, a great fauorite of *Sebastians*. Being thus returned into fauour with the king, he easily maintained it, secondeing his humours, in making the meanes easie to recouer money, and vnfolding all doubts for the execution of his enterprise: by reason whereof he made him Chamberlaine, or rather *Vedor de Hazenda*, a place of greater countenance then the other, employing him in most important affaires. And although his cunning did somewhat assist

the King in his determinations, yet was there another occasion presented which made his hopes increase, which was this.

Long time before there died in Affrick *Mulei Mahamet Cheriffe*, he who had vnitid the Kingdome of Feez, Marroc and Turedant, the which he had alwaies possessed, deuided with his brother *Mulei Hamet*: It seemes that these (whiles they liued quietly togither) made a law, that al the children that suruiued after their decease, shold succeed in the kingdome before any one of the nephewes shold enioy the succession; so as to the yongest vncle shold succeed the eldest nephew: yet after their decease, although they left many children, the greatest part thereof (euen as it hapned vnto their fathers) died by the sword, or were strangled in prison, for the ialousie of State, by the commandement of *Abdala*, one of the sonnes of *Mahamet*, who succeeded his father, & raigned xvij. yeres, the most happie & peaceable Prince that euer that countrey enioied. This man although he were cruel, yet did he refraine from murthering his three brethren; it may be for that they were very children, when he came to the succession; but growing to more yeeres, they fell to distrust him: so as two of them fled to the Turke; the thirde tooke his way by lande and went to liue amongst the Arabians. And although the lawe had decreed that the next brother shoulde succeed to the Crowne, yet *Abdala* resolued to sweare his eldest sonne *Mahamet* his successour, which being performed, sodainly this newe Prince practised against his vncles, sending a Moore to Tremisenne to kill the eldest, who was detained by the Turkes, the which he did effect; wounding him with a dart in the *Mezquita*. This act did greatly trouble the other brother *Mulei Moluc*, yoong and of great hope, who (remaining at *Algier*) demaunding succours in vaine from *Philip* King of Spaine, by the meanes of *Rodorike Alphonso Pimentel*, Earle of Benauent, then Viceroy of Valencia; he resolued to goe seeke it at Constantinople, where he attened long with patience; exclaiming against his kindred, and not obtaining that which he demaunded, till in the end (hauing giuen an honorable testimonie of himselfe in the last sea fight at Nauarin, betwixt the armies of the league and Turke, and at the taking of *Golette*) he obtained three thousand souldiers of the Turke for this conquest; vpon certaine conditions that were not obserued. With these forces and his Moores that followed him, which wanted not in

Affrick,

Affrick, he entred his Nephewes kingdome (for his brother was now dead) and defeated threc armes, whereof the last ( which seemes woonderfull) consisted of threescore thousand horse, and ten thousand foote; and tooke absolute possession of the Realmes, living with great reputation both of the Moores and Christians. *Mulei Mahamet* being in this manner expelled his countrey, he fled to Pignon of Velay, a fortresse which the Catholique king holdes in Affrick, and from thence by the counsell (as they say) of a *Renegado*, he sent his ambassadoris to the said King, letting him vnderstand of his disgrace, and crauing aide to be restored to his estate. Whereunto the Catholique King hauing made no answeare conformable to the desires of the Moore, being gone to Ceuta, he did the like office with King *Sebastian*, shewing vnto him, that by this occasion he shoulde easilie make himselfe Emperour of Marocco. The yoong Prince fedde with this vaine hope, seemed nowe to haue a lawfull subiect to make warre, whereon he resolued, and to succour the Moore *Mahamet*. He propounded this to his Counsell, laboring to proue that it was both profitable and honorable, whereunto (although there were some of contrarie aduise, laying before him that he was without heires, that Christians shoulde rather employ their armes against heretikes then Infidels, that his forces alone were too feeble for so great an action, strengthning their reasons with many examples: notwithstanding as Princes blinded with their owne desires, will not allow the mishaps and disgraces of an other, issuing from their ill measured Counsell, to serue them as examples of better aduise, there was neither reason nor example could preuaile against the Kings opinion, but fortified in his resolution by many ( who either for their owne particular, or for want of iudgement) did counsell him to warre, it was concluded.

And although his owne weakenes was vnknowne vnto himselfe, *Sebastians interview with Phillip at Gnada-  
lps.* yet was he aduised by others to take a companion, and to drawe the Catholique King into this action, believing it were easily performed: the State of Affrick being of greater importance for his kingdome which was adioining to it then for Portugall. He desired greatly to marrie, to haue issue (although his Phisicions feared much he was vnable for generation) and woulde willingly haue taken one of the daughters of the Catholique King, whereof they had giuen him an assured

assured hope : for these two causes he desired to enter parle with him, sending *Peter D'Alcasous* as Embassadour vnto him, with commandement to treat of threc points , that is, for aide in the action of Affrick ; for the marriage of his daughter , and for an enteruiew . The Embassadour departed ; and effected with great diligence the charge his maister had giuen him : and hauing attended some time in this court, he obtained all threc, the promise of marriage with one of his daughters, when she shoulde come to yeeres , for as yet they were too yoong ; That the Catholique King shoulde goe to Guadalupa to meeete with King *Sebastian* : And as for succours he shoulde furnish men & galleies , to vndertake the enterprize of Alarache, the which was spoken very coldly . For the Catholique King knowing the Portugals to presume beyond their strength, and holding it nothing safe to vndertake this action of Affrick without great forces, he laboured what he could by letters to temper this heate , disswading him with many reasons (if not from the enterprize) at the least not to go himselfe in person : but this yoong Prince resting immoueable in his counsels , and most obstinate in his opinion, did still importune him by letters . *Phillip* confirmed the succours of men and galleis , so as the Turke shoulde sende no men into Italy, and that they shoulde vndertake Alarache in the yeere 1577 . the whole being referred vnto their enteruiew at Guadalupa . The Embassadour returnes home more fauoured then euer , seeming to haue effected more then was thought or looked for : In both Courts they make no great delaies, but take their way for Guadalupa , where both kings arriue with no great traines, but with the chiese Noblemen and Gentlemen of their Realmes : There the Portugals (who arriued last) were received with great shewes of loue, finding in all places of Castill, where they passed, the kings expresse commandement to receiue him of Portugall as his owne proper person , so as at Badagios and in other places, where he past, the chiese men went to meeete him, the prisons were opened, and he conducted to his lodging vnder a cloth of estate . The Catholique King tooke great pleasure to see yoong *Sebastian*, whom he entertained as his host, laying aside all tearmes fitte for a greater King, entreating each other equally in maiestie, talking particularly of the warre, being both profitable and honorable for the Realmes of Spaine . The Catholique King did not dissuade him , yet he

he aduised him not to goe in person, excusing himselfe that he could giue no great succour, by reason of the continuall charge he was put to in Italy to resist the Turke : but *Sebastian* being fully resolued to goe, and admitting no excuse, *Phillip desirous* to please him, accorded with him in this sort. That the generall opinion being, and especially of the Duke of Alua, that this action woulde require 15000. foote, not Portugals, but of other nations, trained vp in warre, deuided into Italians, Germanines, & Spaniards ; that the king of Portugall should entertaine ten thousand, and the Catholique King fiftie thousand, furnishing the enterprize with fistie galleis ; (alwaies prouided, if the Turke sent not an armie into Italy) and that they should goe vnto Allarache, without entring into the maine land, and this to be attempted in the yeere 1577 otherwise he should not be bound to any thing. This treatie being ended, euery one returned from whence he came.

In Portugall they made slowe preparatiues to warre, and in the first beginning their money failed them, for that the reuenewes of the Crowne are small, and ill imploied. The whole Realme vpon the maine land yeelding but a million, and one hundred thousand duckets a yeere : The greatest part in customes (the which be vnireasonable) paying for all things twentie in the hundred except fish, which paith the one halfe. The new found lands, as Saint Thomas, Myna, Brazil, and the Indies yeeld but a million at the most, which makes in all two millions and one hundred thousand duckats, which comes to the Crowne : And although the Indies yelde one other million of rent, yet make they neither receipt nor painment thereof, being wholie retaineid there for the entertaining of armies and garrisons. Of these two millions and a hundred thousand duckats, there remaines nothing at the yeeres end in Court, and if the King vse any liberaltie, his charge exceeds the reuenewes ; for that they receive without order, and spende without measure : For these Kings were neuer so happie as to be serued with men of judgement, and discretion, who could order the reuenewes and expences ; but giuing the charge alwaies vnto Nobldmen, who were aduaneed thereunto by fauour, and not by merite, (an ordinarie custome in that countrey) they studid to maintaine themselfes in that throne by other meanes, letting the reuenewes of the Crowne goe as it woulde. So as what in wages of officers, rents, created, recompence for life, priuiledges ( which  
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they call *Giuros*) sold by him, entertaining of Fortresses in Affrick, preparation of nauies, and expences of the Court, all is spent. They went therefore seeking heere and there for money, forcing the people to contribute, and the chiese Citizens extraordinarily: for although they gathered much by this meanes, yet they did drawe vpon them the curses and exclamations of the people, being most affectionate and obedient to their King; but nothing preuailed against the burning desire of officers. They exacted from the Clergie the thirde part of their reuenewes, whereunto they would not yeeld: yet seeing the Pope yeelded vnto the Kings affections, they granted a hundredth and fiftie thousand duckats. They granted vnto the new Christians paying two hundredth & fiftie & twentie thousand duckats (that which before had been for a time granted & often since denied) that for sinning against the Inquisition they shoulde not loose their goods as they did. They imposed a newe custome vpon the salt, and exacted money from the Nobilitie, and Gentlemen of the Realme, against their auncient customes; many being by this meanes yniustly vexed. Amongst other Noblemen, the King sent to *Francis de Melo*, Earle of Tentuguel, who excusing himselfe, did write vnto the King, with greater libertie then possible reason woulde allowe: For noting greatly the demand of money, which they had made vnto him, as yniust, he said, it agreed not with the vertues with which his highnes was indued; neither did it seeme reasonable, that they whose fathers had beene helpers to conquer the Realme, shoulde be subiect to the impositions and tributes, which are paid for the warres, whereof many of meaner qualitie were exempt. He laide the blame of these demands vpon the sinnes of the Realme, but much more vpon such fauorites as the King had about him, of whom he complained; he produced the example of that fatall chaunce, which hapned at Tanger, to *Henry and Ferdinand*, sonnes to King *John* the first, seeking to make warres against the Moores at the peoples charge, who ought in reason to pay rather then Gentlemen: inferring thereby that hee could attend no better successe of the action the King now tooke in hand, being at their charge, who had never contributed, although the Realme by reason of warres had beene seene in greater necessitie then at that present, he concluded ( beseeching the King to consider better what he did, and to imitate the example of his ancestors, and

and not to leue a woorse of himselfe to his successors.) This letter, which the King read with disdaine, freed the Earle and many others from the contribution of money, seeking by other meanes (but chiefly by the bloud of the poore) to supplie their wants. And to the end there might be greater plentie of money within the Realme, he commanded that the Royals of Castill, which before were defensed, should be now currant, valuing them a ninth part more then they were accustomed, which many noted as ominous. The King began now to draw his men ofter to field, putting them into squadrons, to come to encounters, and to counterfaite all that which is acted in warre, where he himselfe was often present, in danger of his person, in the midst of their harquebuzes, yet had he neither Captaine nor Sergeant that could instruct them, onely one *John de Gama*, who in the habite of an Hermit, became a great master of the warre. So as notwithstanding the great paine they tooke in this exercise in manner forced, hauing never seene any thing, they remained more ignorant then at the beginning. The King gaue himselfe much to hunting, accounting it a glory to encounter with the most furious beasts, wherein he grew very expert: If he went (as he did often) for pleasure from one place to another, either by sea, or vpon the river of Tagus, he thought it a shame to go in calme weather, but still attended some storne whereby it seemed that some fataus destinie lead him headlong to his end. But in the meane space time steale away, necessarie provisions want, and all things proceed slowly forward. They must prouide money in Italy, to leuie the Italian foote-men, and to pay the Germaines: but the Pepper whereby it shoulde be raised, was come but that sommer to Lisbone, from whence it shoulde be sent by the merchants ships to Liuorno, there to be sold. This enterprize, the which (for that they sought to do it with seldome money, we may earme vndiscreet) was now almost made impossible, and *Peter D'Alcasoua* (who was Chamberlaine, and had charge of the treasure) durst not discouer the defects vnto the King, fearing his displeasure, if he shoulde now contradict that which before he had allowed: He did still temporize with hope, that the Catholique King shoulde excuse himselfe from furnishing them, wherunto he was bound, vpon colour of sending an armie into Italy against the Turks, or for some other pretext, the which he greatly desired, that the whole

whole blame might fall vpon Phillip: neither was he without hope, for the exceptions vnder which he had promised, made him beleue that which fell out other wise. In the meane time *Mulei Moluck* hearing of these preparatiues, fearing the Catholique king should ioyne with the Portugals, sent wisely vnto him to will him aduise what part of his Territories he pleased to haue, the which he would giue to be his friend and confederate. The King presently let *Sebastian* vnderstand his offer, aduising that it were a matter of consequence to keepe the Moore in hope and to send vnto him to expound his meaning, the which must needs be profitable, seeing that practizes are no suspensions of armes, whereof there might grow some good effect; for possiblie the Moore would neglect his defence, or yeeld what quiedy which they pretended to take from him by force: but this yoong King, who knew not how much better an assured peace were, then an expected victorie, and who desired rather to winne by force, then by agreement, any place whatsoeuer, pressed the Catholique King not to treat any accord with *Moluck*. But Phillip knowing *Sebastian*s desighnes seeing him neither willing to accord, nor able to perfourme the enterprise, the which was likely to be broken, he laboured to effect it himselfe; and seeing sommer now come, and neither Italian nor Germano souldiers in Portugall, he made offer vnto him by *Johie de Sylus* his Embassadour, that if he were not prepared for the enterprise as it was cbnuenient, he woulde furnish both men and shippinge; so as he shoulde pay the two thirdes of the charges, according to the Treatise. But forasmuch as this offer was farre off from the marke, wherat the King of Portugall shot, it was neither heard nor acceptid: And although the season of the yeare was now farre passed, and the preparatiues weake, (matters being concealed from *Sebastian*, who was abused by his ministers) yet he feared nothing, but that Phillip shoulde excuse himselfe, and not keepe promise on his behalfe, which shoulde make him vnable to perfourme the enterprise, wherof he was so desirous; so as he laboured to obtaine of him an assured promise of aide, without exception of the coning of the Turkes army, the which he secretly feared, and his ministers greatly hoped for, so were their mindes distracted. The Catholique King being aduertised hereof, seeming vnto him impossible to do any thing that were good, either to satisfie, or to withdraw himselfe from the

the promise that he made, left it to the iudgement of his Embassador, to make offer vnto the King of the fifty galleis lent, & the fiftie thousand foote, to be presently imployed (if neede were) according to the Treacie; but he shoulde haue a speciall care not offer them, if he did see any impossibilitie to imploye them, being vnwilling to hazard his forces alone without such as the King of Portugall was bound to leue: Vpon this offer which the Embassador had made, *Sebastian* being come to himselfe, and casting vp his reckonings, he found himselfe vnable that yeere to passe into Affrick, by reason whereof he caused proclamation to be made, that the enterprise should be deferred vntill the next yere: *Philip* a little before (being moued with the practises of this warre,) had sent Captaine *Frauncis D'Aldana* disguised into Affrick to viewe the townes and fortresses vpon the sea coast, who (being in great danger) returned. This man he sent to *Sebastian*, who receiving many fauours, he informed him particularly of the state of Affrick: And althoough *Aldana* made the enterprise more difficult then he supposed, yet could he no way discourage him; but laying aside that discourse, he inquired secretly of him (as of an expert souldiour) of many things touching the gouernment of Armies, wherein *Aldana* did amply satisfie him. The King now beleeving he should be well able to execute all he vnderstood, not knowing the difference betwixt saying and doing; the winter come, he gaue *Aldana* leue to depart, honouring him with a chaine of gold, of one thousand duckats, making him promise to returrie when he shoulde need his seruice.

In this meane time for the yeere following *Sebastian* (by the meanes of *Gomez de Sylua*, his Embassador at Rome) treated with the great Duke of Fuscane, to leue in his Territories three or fower thoufande foote, accepting in part the offer which the great Duke had made vnto him, not long before by his Embassadors, but the effect followed not. He sent likewise *Sebastian de Costa* into Flaunders to *William of Nassau* Prince of Orange (who being chosen head of the Flemmings against the Catholique King, commanded in those parts) entreating him to assist him with three or fower thousand Germaines: He likewise dispatched fower coronels throughout his Realme of Portugall, to leue twelue thousand foote; and those were *Michaell de Norogna*, *Iames Lopez de Sequeira*, *Frauncis de Tavora*, and *Vasco de Silveira*; the which had neuer beeene at the warres. He assembled some Spaniards which

which came at the brute of warres, and of this voyage, whereof he gathered a good number, without the consent of *Philip*, and in Castill it selfe without any noise of drum he enrolled many souldiers for this warre, which caused *Philip* to punish some Captaines afterwardes: But notwithstanding all these goodly shewes, no man beleueed it woulde take effect, for besides they did esteeme the Kings forces, too feble to attempt any warre, much more beyond the sea, (whereas the charge woulde be greater) they did conceiue that when the Catholique King, the Cardinall *Henry*, Queene Katherine, and the people, should see all lets taken away, they would not suffer the King to go in person, which made euery man suppose that after the expence of much mony, it would vaniish to nothing, as it had hapned the last yeere, and some yeeres before, with the armie of *Edward* the Kings vncle, prepared for the same Countries of Affrick, and some other enterprises. But forasmuch as we can hardly resist the diuine powers, it seemed that all things did second the effect of this enterprise: the Queene (a Ladie of bountie and great value) who as well for the loue she bare vnto the King, being bred in her bosome; as to content *Philip* her nephew, who was the sonne of her brother, did vehemently dissuade this enterprise, she died. The Pope forasmuch as this warre was attempted against Infidels, giuing succours in time of need, opened his spirituall treasures, granting the Bull of the *Croy-sada*, which till that time was not brought into the Realme. The ships of the Indies returned home to a safe Port very rich. The Prince of Orange although he were sufficiently busied in the low Countries, yet shewing how little he esteemed the forces of the Catholique King, graunted out of his troupes the three thousand foote, which were demaunded; so as all things seemed to yeeld vnto the Kings wil. All that time which was the ninth of Nouember, there appeared in the Zodiaque, in the signe of *Libra*, neare vnto the station of *Mars*, the goodliest & greatest Comet, that hath bcene scene in many ages, the which happening in the progresse of this war, amazed many, who looking to examples past, said it was a signe of vnhappy successe, and that coming from a corrupt aire, it did endamage the delicate bodies of Princes. And for as much as the auncient Captaines with their diuines, did interpret it to good, not for that they beleueed it, but to encourage their souldiers: the Portugall likewise taking it for a fauour said,

said, that this Comet spake vnto the King, saying, *Eccometa*, which is to say in the Portugall tong: let him assayle them, not hauing any such beliefe, but for flatterie, fearing more the Kings choler, by reason of his rough inclination, then the heauens.

*Philip* at that time by a certaine treatie of peace had pacified the war of the Low-Countries, where *Don John de Austria* his bastard brother was gouernour, who seeming not absolute Master of the people, and the Prince of Orange his aduersarie not well satisfied, desiring rather to be Lord of all, then gouernor of a part, they began new practizes against the conuentions agreed on. And *Don Johns* letters being surprised, (the which he had written into Spaine,) by the Lords of the countrey they discouered, that vpon the Princes fortifying of some places in Holland, he had an other intention then he made shew of, who finding his letters surprised and his purposes laid open, desirous (as he said) to subdue them by armes, he thought it not safe to remaine vnarmed in those parts: So as one day seeming to goe take the aire, he retired himselfe to Namur, vpon the frontire of Flanders, towards Lorraine, with his greatest fauorites, and there discouering his minde, and dismissing such as he trusted not, he suddenly called backe the Spanish foot (the which according to the Articles of peace) were departed, and scarce arriued in Italie; and hauing made a newe leuie of Wallons and Germaines, the warre began in those parts more cruell then before, and with greater disaduantage for the King: for that in the conformitie of the treatie of pacification, they had left all the fortresses in the hands of the Flemmings. By reason of these new broiles, & for that the war of Affrick was deferred a yeere more then was agreed on, the Catholike King framed an excuse to denie his promised succours to the King of Portugall, shewing that it behooued him to prouide in Flanders for his honour, and the safety of his brother; hoping by this meanes to diuert him from the enterprise, but it preuailed nothing: for the other being rash, resolued in any sort to vndertake it, whether he had his expected succours or not, thinking (being yoong) with his owne forces and the Italians and Germanes which hee attended, to bee able to conquer the worlde. This resolution displeased *Philip* and did much afflict him, for being vnable to assist him, he feared that without his aide the day would be perillous, and seeing the danger increase, he continued these good offices

offices with more vchencie, either to breake off the enterprise, or at least to dissuade him from going in person: whereupon he did write many letters of his owne hand full of loue; he caused the Duke of Alua to write vnto him, and in the end sent the Duke of Medina Celi (one of the greatest in Spaine) to doe his last endeouour to diuert him; but all was in vaine, he would attempt it at his owne cost, although the Catholike King sent him not one souldier. And for as much as good deedes are often taken in ill part, some saide that all these demonstrations of King *Philip* were but couterfeit, & that he wished *Sebastian* should go, for howsoeuer it should succeed, he should receiue a benefit thereby: if it happened he should take *Allarache* or any place vpon the coast, it were more aduantage to *Philip* then to him, hauing his Dominions fronting neerer to Affricke then the other; but if he should happen to die in these wars, a greater good should come vnto him, being heire vnto the Realme. But to say the truth, *Philip* was moued to doe this office towards *Sebastian*, both of his owne quiet disposition ( beeing no friend to broyles ) as also for another priuate subiect, of no small importance, which was: At that time the Treatie of Truce was reuiued betwixt him and the Turke, whereunto both were moued for one and the selfe same respect, not to diuide their forces at such time as they had most need of them to be vniited; the Turke against the Sophi, and the King against the Rebels in Flaunders: So as without infringing this Truce, the Catholike King could not send any Armie to endomage Affricke, being tributarie to the Turke, and especially of *Mulei Moluc* his friend and confederate. And this excuse was so much the more tolerable, for that he laboured to comprehend the King of Portugall within this truce, desiring him to enter into it, but he not onely refused it, but also answered, That he maruelled he would treat a peace for three yeeres with the Turke, to auoide war during that tearme in Italy, being most assured that Affrick should be replenished with Turkes, and the three yeeres expired, he should haue that war in Spaine, which now he sought to auoide in Italy: He did aduise him not to conclude; or if he would needes, not to comprehend him, to the end he might afterwards secretly assist him against *Mulei Moluc*: by meanes whereof with small charge he might assure himselfe of Italy by the truce, and of Affricke by war in the name of the Portugals. *Philip* disallowed of these friuo-  
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lous reasons, solliciting *Sebastian* to resolute himself either to enter or be excluded: After some delaies he was contented to bee comprehended therein. But as these Treaties were in handling, he supposed it should not any wise hinder his enterprise of Affricke: And therefore they armed their gallions at Lisbone, they stayed merchants ships, they inrolled all their shipping throughout the Realme to transport men, horse, victuals, and munition, making readie other preparatiues: *Lewis Dataide* was named generall of this Action, but he did not exercise the charge with the authoritie due to the place, for as much as the King with *Peter D'alcasous* and some other his fauorites, resolued and gaue order for many things concerning the war, which belonged to the Generall to do, or at the least to consult of. But as he was not greatly pleasing vnto the King, although he were the most renowned of all the Portugals, so did he not follow this enterprise being sent Vizeroy to the Indies: *Diego de Sosa* was made Generall at the sea, *Christopher de Tauora* his Chamberlaine, and master of his horse (whom he loued entirely) was made commander of all the Nobilitie that should go into Affricke, and of many strangers that came by aduenture, giuing him the Title of Captaine of the Aduentures, by meanes whereof he was preferred before all the Nobilitie. And for that he could not make himselfe equall with the Moore in horse-men; he resolued to fortifie himselfe better with foote, commanding that no man should furnish himselfe with horse, but such as he should appoint, the which should not be lightly armed, but barded, like to the ancient men of armes, so as many gentlemen that prepared to go on horsebacke remained on foot. It was strange to see the Portugals furnish themselues to war; for being an exercise that requireth order & measure, all things were there disordered and confused: The faults which were committed in taking of Musters, giuing of paies, superfluitie in many things, and defect in other, were infinite: The gentlemen after a new prodigious manner attired themselues like vnto the Castillians, in steede of scouring their Armes, they guarded their habits, for corslets they prouided dublers of silke & gold, they were charged with sugar and conserues, in stead of water & bisket: The vessels of siluer, & the tents lined with silke and satten were without number, euerie gentleman went furnished like a king, and the poore souldiers died for hunger: To conclude, it seemed they supposed that hee that

*Preparation  
for the se-  
cond voya-  
ge  
of Affricke.*

3.

went brauest and best furnished with delights, and pleasures, shoulde  
 soonest conquer the enimy; contrary to the opinion of true souldiers,  
 " who beleue that when a man goes to the combate clad in gold, and  
 " silke, he is either slaine or returnes home laden with blows; but when  
 " he goeth couered with iron, and steele, he returnes a conquerour la-  
 " den with gold. *Sebastian* was carefull to whom he shoulde leauue the go-  
 uernment of the Realme, for that there was none remaining of the  
 bloud Royall, but his vncle the Cardinall, whom (being very old, &  
 not greatly pleasing vnto him) he woulde not willingly admit to so  
 great a charge, yet hauing no other, he went to Euora where he liued,  
 entreating him to take the care in his absence, the which he would by  
 no meanes accept, excusing it by reason of his age, and indisposition;  
 so as he made choise of fower gouernours to command in his name,  
 which were *George d'Almeda*, archbishop of Lisbone, *Peter d'Alcasara*,  
*Frauncis de Sada*, & *John Mascaregnas*, to whom he gaue full power in al  
 things, leauing with the a Seale which did imprint with inke this word  
 R E I I, with the which he cōmanded the to subscribe their dispatches.

In the meane time vpon Affrick side, the *Cheriffe Mahamer* did still  
 sollicite *Sebastian*, by Embassadors to make haste, and by no meanes  
 to abandon the enterprise, and with many hopes he gaue him to vnder-  
 stand, that (besides a good number of souldiers, he had already ar-  
 med) he was most assured, that vpon the present view of the Portu-  
 gals ensignes in Affrick, being knowne that they came in his fauour,  
 the greatest part of townes, fortes, and men of warre woulde reuell  
 against *Mulei Moluc* & come to him. It is most true he dissuaded the  
 King for going in person, saying, it was not necessarie, but woulde  
 prooue very hurtfull, alleaging that the Moores (which easily would  
 yeeld at his deuotion) seeing the King of Portugall there in person  
 woulde grow iealous, least he came to subdue them to the Christians;  
 and therefore woulde not so willingly leauue the enimie. The which  
 he saide, both for that it might so fall out, as also fearing (not without  
 reason) that if the King were conquerour, and there in person to, he  
 would not leauue him his kingdome free. Al these things greatly enfla-  
 med *Sebastian*, & the more the *Cheriffe* dissuaded his going, the more  
 his desire encreased, supposing that the Moore grew fearefull that his  
 cōming should deprive him of his kingdome, he did firmly beleue  
 that he shoulde conquer it: and continued so blinde in this desire, that  
he

he caused a crowne to be made and carried with him, with other preparatiues to be crowned King, not knowing in the morning what the evening brings. But it seemed to him that fortune began now to smile, for that *Albacarin the Moore*, who commanded for *Mulei Moluc*, in *Arzilla*, a towne vpon the borders of the sea, sometimes belonging to the Portugals, & voluntarily abandoned to the Moores, by the intercession of the *Cheriffe Mabamet*, had deliuered it to the gouernour of *Tanger*, whereof the King receiued great contentment, and beleueed now the Moore had such as he saide, affectionate to his partie.

At this time the Irishmen rebelled in diuers parts of that kingdom, pretending the libertie of Religion, and complained to Pope *Gregory the 13.* taking for their leader the Earle of Desmond and others, as *Oneale*, and some other of the sauage Irish, affirming that if they were aided, they could easily drawe the whole Island from the Queenes obedience. The Pope did communicate this with the Catholique King, exhorting him to undertake this action, as most godly, & to succour this people, the which they resolued to do. But forasmuch as the Queen of England did seeme in words friend vnto the king, & did as the Spaniards supposed couertly vnderhand assist the Prince of Orange in Flaunders against him; the King woulde likewise march in the same path, and make a couert warre against her: they concluded to assist this people in the Popes name, but secretly at the kings charge. To this effect they leuied certaine footemen in the territories of the Church, whereof sixe hundred vnder the conduct of *Thomas Stukeley* an Englishman, fled out of England for treason; (who a little before had obtained the title of a Marques from the Pope,) were embarked at *Ciuitaechia*, in a ship of *Genua*, to be transported into Ireland, the which arriued at *Lisbone*, in the time they made preparation in Portugall for the warre of *Affrick*: the king hearing of their arriuall, and that for want of money he could haue no Italians out of *Tuscane*, desired to see them, with an intent to retaine them, & vse them in the war of *Affricke*, & hauing caused them to disimbarke, and to lodge at *Oeiras* neare to the mouth of *Tagus*, he went one day to view them; and althoough they were no chiefe men, yet did he admire their order, their speedie discharging of their Harquebuzes, their disposition to handle the pike, and their strict obedience: and hauing had some conference with the saide *Stukeley*, they perswaded him to promise to goe

with him into Affrick. The Catholique King for that he woulde not shew himselfe a partie, woulde not contradict it. The Pope was so farre off, that before the newes coulde come vnto him, he gaue them imprese, and they remained for his service. In this time the foote which were leuied by three Coronels, approached to Lisbone : the fourth which was *Frauncis de Tanora*, shoulde imbarke in Algarues. The three thouſand Germaines (which the Prince of Orange had granted) were (vnder the conduct of *Martin of Burgundie, Lord of Tamberg,*) arriued within the mouth of Tagus, in Flemmish ſhips, and were lodged at Cascaies, and thereabouts, to the great amafement of the peasants, not accustomed to the charges of warre. King *Sebastian* before his departure, desired to ſee the Duke of Alua, whom he ſent vnto, but he excused himſelfe vpon the King ; and the King at the entreatie of the Duke, vpon the infirmite of the old man; ſo as his deſire tooke no effect. The Dukes friends tolde him he ſhould haue accepted this fauour ; whereunto he anſwered, that hauing knowne by the practiſes and diſcourses of Guadaluppa, and by the Kings letters, his reſolution to paſſe into Affrick, he thought it i[m]poſſible to diuert him from that opinion, that hauing bee[n] diſcreet in his youth, he woulde not in his declining age make himſelfe author of the ruine, which he did foreſee of a King and kingdom. *Sebastian* without any graue Counſellors, haſtened his departure, impatient of the leaſt delaies, his forces being all assembled with the ſhips at Lisbone; the ſouldiours (which were ſcarce nine thouſand) were imbarke[n]d againſt their will : The Noblemen and Gentlemen likewiſe had every one a ſhippe armed, wherein he ſhould imbarque, with thoſe vnder his conuaund, but hardly were they drawne from their deere houses. And altho[u]gh there were a certayne day for their departure appointed, yet was it not obſerued : So as the King going one morning in great troupe to the cathedral church, with the Standard he ment to carrie into Af- frick, he cauſed it to be hallowed with great pompe, and deliuered it to the maſter of his horſe, and ſo returning (many beleueing he would haue returned to the pallace) he went directly to the galley wherein he woulde paſſe, to haſten the reſt, ſaying that he woulde preſently depart : And altho[u]gh this were the xvij. day of Iune, in the yeare 1578. yet did he ſtay eight daies in the Port, and neuer diſim- barked, preparing the reſt of the ſoldiours, who were no ſooner readye

*The ſecond  
voyage of  
Sebastian  
with his ar-  
mie into Af-  
frick.*

readie then the day after Midsommer : at what time hauing a prosperous winde, the whole armie set saile, to the great pleasure and contentment of the King, who yoong and vnskilfull, guided by some sinister starre, or by that diuine permission which woulde punish this people, went into Affrick, to a dangerous (although a glorious) enterprise, leauing the Realme emptied of money, naked of Nobilitie, without heires, and in the hands of ill affected gouernours.

## THE SECOND BOOKE.

### The Contents of the second Booke.

*The King of Portugals passage into Affricke : his counsell and resolution to enter into the maine land ; the way his armie tooke ; the preparatiues for the warre of Mulei Moluc , the qualitie and disposition of his campe, the battaile of Alcazar, the ouerthrowe of the Portugals ; the death of King Sebastian and of Moluc, and the creation of King Henry .*

3He King of Portugals departure from Lisbone, was so mournefull, that it gaue apparent signes of euill successe, for in so great a number of men, and of so diuers qualities, there was not any one with a cheerefull countenance, or that did willingly imbarke, against the common custome in the beginnings of warre, but all ( as it were presaging of ill euent, ) complained they were forceable drawne vnto it. There was such a deadlie silence in the porte, that (during all the time of their abode in so great a number of shippes) there was neither flute nor trumpet heard. The Kings galley issuing foorth, was carried downe with the currant, and brake her rudder against a Flemmish ship ; a cannon shot from the towne slew one of his marriners in the boate ; so as if we shall giue credite to signes as the auncients did, these seemed very ominous.

The first towne they touched vpon the maine lande was Lagos in Algarues (where did imbarke the regiment which *Francis de Tavora* had leuied in those parts) and certaine other vessels ioined to the armie, so as in all one and other they made neere onethousand sailes; but except fiftie galleis and fiftie other shippes, all the rest were vnarmed, and the most of them were barks to passe horse and munition. They arriued soone at Cadiz, whereas the Duke of Medina Sidonia feasted the King, with chasing of buls, Iocodecanna, and all other delights that poore lland coulde yeelde. The Duke laboured to perswade him not to goe personally into Barberie, but he preuailed not, hauing sojourned there eight daies like a fleete of merchants, without guard or Centinell, directing their prowelte towards Affrick, in fewe daies they arriued at Almadraues, betwixt Tanger and Arzilla, where hauing cast anchors, they staied some space. The King hauing then an intention to disunbarke at Alarache, a small towne of the Moores, lying fifteene miles towards the south, a little before the armie approched the land, being fully resolued to depart; the King with his fiftie galleis and fower gallions (leauing the rest of the ships) went to Tanger, where he made a short abode: for hauing sent *Mulei Cheque* son to the *Cheriffe*, of the age of twelue yeeres, by land with *Martin Correa de Sylua*, and certaine horsemen Moores and Portugals, to the ende they should draw towards Mazagon, and backe the people thereabouts that should revolt against *Moluc*; he returned to his armie, hauing supplied the fortresses with fresh souldiors, and taking into his ships the *Cheriffe* and eight hundred Harquebuzers that were at the guard thereof. From the Almadraues, he went to Arzilla with all his fleete, where seeing his souldiors distressed for water, he commanded them to lande and refresh themselues, meaning to imbarke them againe, or to transport them in barks to Alarache: But waue-ring in his thoughts, nothing was constant, for the souldiors being landed with no small confusion, it was hard to force them to returne, for the small obedience they were in, and for the necessitie of water, whereof they must make prouision, so as he continued long irresolute. The armie was lodged vpon the sea shore, hauing on the one side fortified their lodging with rampiers of earth and waggons, on the two other sides the sea and the towne serued them for trenches: It remained in this estate fifteene daies, during which the Portugals landing

*The arri-  
wing of the  
Portugall  
armie in  
Affrick, and  
their pro-  
ceedings.*

landing with their King, had so troubled all the prouince, that the Moores that are neighbours to the sea townes, as Alarache, Tituan, and others, were resolued not to make any resistance, but to abandon their townes, and had alreadie transported their poore wealth with their wiues to the mountaines.

But *Mulei Moluc* being at Marrock, had before both from Portugall, Cadiz, and Arzilla very particular aduertisement of the King of Portugals preparation, and of the quantitie and qualitie of his men, wherewith he was greatly moued, seeming vnto him that *Sebastian* pretended to deprive him of his kingdome being a Moore, to giue it to another Moore, no more friend to him then he was, without any pretext or iudgement to whom of them the estate did iustly appertaine. And seeing the accord with the Catholique King tooke nor the effect he desired, he resolued vpon his defence: but weighing how much better an ill peace is then a iust warre, and discerning well the discommodities, great charge, and dangers it drawes with it, he laboured first to compound with him, making offer to the King to giue him tenne miles of the countrey lying about his fortresses in Affrick for tillage. But *Sebastian* who was of another conceite, made him answere that he had beene at great charge in leuying offorreine forces, and therefore he coulde not desist from the enterprise, vnlesse he would yeeld him Tituan, Alarache, and Cape D'Aghero. This demand seemed too excessive to the Moore, and therefore made answere that hee must pause thereon, although the siege were before Moroca, and that the King should offer to giue him in counter-change *Mulei Mahanet* his capitall enimie, That he had conquered those Realmes with his sword and policie, and ment to defend them with all his forces. He commaunded presently *Rhodenano* his purveyor generall a Portugall *Renegado* to bring to field all his Tents and Pauillions, the which was perfourmed the next day, beeing in number aboue 4000. The sixe and twentieth of May he went towards Suse, the chiefc citie being Northward from Moroca, to giue order in those parts for certaine things there concerning the warre. But hauing intelligence vpon the way that the King of Portugall was issued out of Lisbone, he returned suddenly to Moroca, where hauing left the said *Rhodenano* as his Vizeroy, he assembled those men of war he commonly keepes in paye in that Realme: he lodged his campe at Camis

*The second Booke of the*

Camis, and from thence came in three daies to Temisnam ( townes which lyeth towards the frontiers of Portugall) where he fell sicke with great castings and a fit of an Ague. There he vnderstood that *Sebastien* was come to Cadiz: and although he were verie sicke, yet continuing his course, he went to Salé with 14000.horse, and 2500.Harquebuzers, whereof one thousand were on horsebacke, & the rest on foot the most part of Andelousia, & *Renegados*. Here he vnderstood the Portugals were arriued at Arzilla, and therefore hauing passed the riuier of Marmore at a foord, hauing caused some quantity of metal to be brought from Moroco, he cast fower pieces of great cannon in his campe, three of them with certaine other peeces he drew with him, the other he sent to Moroco, marching himselfe towards Alca-sar; *Mulei Hemet* his bastard brother, gouernour of the kingdome of Fesse, was alreadie come to field, by his commandement, as generall of the horse of that prouince, and hauing assembled all the souldiers both horse and foote thereabouts, was come to the place which they call the faire of Thursday, sixe miles neere to Alcazarquiuir, where he expected his brother to ioyn their armes togither, hauing two and twentie thousand horse, and fiftie thousand fifti hundredth foote. There *Moluc* arriued the xxiiij. of Iuly so sicke, that he coulde scarce endure on horsebacke, who hauing marched long in his Litter, seeing his brother a farre off, he tooke his horse to meeete him, when they approached the one to the other, *Mulei Hemet* put spurres to his horse, and being come neare his brother, he lighted and kissed the ground, in signe of humilitie, the whole armie giuing a great volley of thotte. His sicknes encreasing daily, *Mulei Moluc* entred not with pompe (as the manner was) into his lodging, but returning to his Litter, seated his brother in his place, to effect his entrie, himselfe going before to take his lodging. And forasmuch as he vnderstood, that *Sebastien* had sent *Mulei Cheque* with troopes to Mazagon, he dispatched *Mulei Dan* his nephew with two thousand horse, and some foote to make head, least he shoulde indamage those quarters: Toward Cape D'Aghere, and Alarache, he likewise sent men; but hearing that *Sebastien* was disimbarked at Arzilla, they returned to the campe. *Moluc* was a man couragious, hardie, and free in wordes, seeming to make small account of the Portugals, he saide openly, that whosoever went not willingly with him, he shoulde retire, suffering any freely

freely to depart that were more friend to *Mulei Mahanet* then to him, wherein they should do him a fauour; the which he spake not to contemne the enimies forces, but knowing how hardly he shoulde staie them that minded to leaue him, desiring rather they shoulde then go, then attend vntill a battaile, or reuolt at some other time when they might do him a greater mischiefe: And therefore to giue them the better meanes to escape, he made choise of three thousand, out of such as he suspected, sending them to discouer the Christians Armie, to keepe them busied with courses, and to giue them often Alarums, not with any meaning they shoulde do this exploite, but if they meant to flie, they might effect it at their pleasure. But this meaning unknowne to that nation, wrought in them a contrarie effect to that which *Moluc* attended: for hauing construed this commaundement to the fidelitie and trust he had in them, they meant still to remaine faithfull, so as few went vnto the Christians armie: The greatest part did well performe that which *Moluc* had giuen them in Charge, for being deuided somtimes into 600. sometimes more, sometimes lesse, they ran to the Trenches of the Portugals lodgings, molesting and slaying those they found scattering from the Arnie,

In the meane while the Portugals remayning in their lodgings, before they had yet discouered the Moores, deceiued with illusions had twice taken the Alarum in vain: seeing themselues one day followed at the heeles by 600.horse, like men that had neuuer yet scene the enimie neere or far off, although they were in a strong lodg-  
ing, ioyning to a friend towne, and an Arnie at sea within Harque-  
buze shot: yet ran they fearfully to imbarke, and notwithstanding  
that the Enimies ( after a light skirmish with the Moores of *Cheriffe  
Mahanet* who were lodged a little without the trenches ) returned  
presently, yet the Portugals were so amazed, that being kept from  
imbarking, they fled from the campe going by lande to Tanger, and  
so fell out of one mischiefe into another, for by the way they were ta-  
ken prisoners by the Moores of Tituan & other places thereabouts,  
who lay in waite to robbe and spoile. But the King gathered courage  
by this first view of the Moore so suddenly retyred, for remaining  
before within the citie, he would now lodge without, to be more neere  
vnto the skirmishes when need should require. The next day disco-  
uering 2000. of the enimies horse, the King went to encounter them  
with

*A light skirmish  
of the  
Moores a-  
gainst the  
Portugals.*

with 600 horse, but the skirmish being begunne the Moores retired, wherein the King carried himselfe more like a valiant souldier, then a wise Captaine, following Edward de Meneses Marshall of the campe, who marched ten miles from the Armie with no small danger, hauing neither footman nor Harquebuzer for his guarde: the safetie of his person being of great importance to the whole Armie, he seemed rather wearie of his life then to doe any acte of a braue minde, who being a King and might liue deliciously was pricked forward with the onely desire of glorie.

*The meanes  
of Moluc to  
defeat the  
Portugals.*

Moluc had newes of this encounter beyond Alcazar where he lodged, from whence he departed not, both for that he expected some troupes from Tituan and Mechinee, (places vpon the sea coast,) the which arriuied soone, as also to draw the Portugals into the firme land; for so he vnderstood they entended, yet he feared it could not so fall out, doubting they would continue along the sea coast, being most conuenient for them. Yet he resolued if they entred not into the maine, to march towards them withall speed, and before they should attempt any thing, to follow them at their backes; thereby to draw them into the want of many things, not meaning to ioyne battell with them but vpon great aduantage: but if they should enter into the maine land, to suffer their passage as far as he might with assurance, and after cut off their retурne to sea: In this manner he doubted not to obtaine the victorie almost without fighting, both for the great number of men he had in his Armie, as also vnderstanding the Portugals were ill prouided of victuals, drawne thither by force, full of delights, and voide of experience.

*The counsell  
and resolution  
of the  
Portugals to  
enter into  
the maine  
land of Af-  
fricks.*

In this time the King of Portugall assembled the chiefe of his counsell to resolute of his departure, demaunding their aduise, what course they were best to take: Many durst not speake freely; for althoough they thought the best resolution to goe by sea to Alarache, yet discouering by daily practises that the King was otherwise resolute, relying more vpon flatterie then vpon the truth; they chose rather to counsell him ill and please him, then to aduise him well and contradict him. He was desirous to goe by land to play both the captaine and the Sericant, not foreseeing the difficulties the way would bring, nor the danger whereinto he did runne, but as ill aduised (hauing no aduertisement of the enemies Armie) thought with securitie

to

to ouerrune their countrey, and that the Moores should flie before him as those few had done which appeared at Arzilla. One of the chiefe that did most applaud his humour was *Alphonso* of Portugall, Earle of Vimioso, who had beeene (in the Kings former voyage into Affricke) Chamberlaine, and had charge of the victuals; wherin he behaued himselfe so sparingly, as if they had continued any longer in Affricke, or else at sea, they had beeene starued, the which his enemies tooke as an occasion to disgrace him with the King, whereof he had beeene euer sithens secluded. This man (both ambitious and cunning, did second the Kings humours, although he did know with himselfe they were rash and hurtfull, and against that which he thought conuenient) perswading him to march by lande for two reasons: The one to make knowne vnto the King vpon his march the want of victuals there was in his Armie, by reason whereof he coulde not proceed: to make his officers odious, and to whip them with the same rod he had beeene scourged before, whereby the voyage should be broken. The other reason was to shew himselfe valiant to please the King and to recouer his disgrace, seeming vnto him that whether he did aduise it or not, the King would vndertake it, and since that he must of force hazard his life, he thought it best to make himselfe Author of the resolution: if it succeeded ill, the losse would be generall; if it happened wel, he alone should haue the honour of it, seeing that he alone was of that opinion. He setled the Kings weake iudgement, and therewithall enflamed this desire to march, saying that this Armie in Affricke being master of the field, shouldest not shew any feare by imbarkeing, but turne head wheresoeuer it pleased and open all passages. And although they were possibly inferiour to the enimie in number, yet their valour exceeded them, being well knowne vnto the world how much a Moore was inferiour to a Christian, adding thereunto that to disimbarke at Alarache it might prooue vneasie and dangerous; he said that both King *Philip* and the Castilians would report the Portugals durst not without their aide enter one foot into Affrick, that they had disimbarked rashly & had retired like cowards. *Lewis de Silua* one of the Kings chiefe fauorites spake his mind freely vpon this point, saying there was no reason for an Armie to march by land, that went to a towne adioyning vpon the sea, hauing so goodly a Fleet, which might easilly be furnished with fresh water for so small a voy-

The Countee  
of Vimioso  
seconded  
the designes  
of the King  
of Portugall.

The aduise  
of Lewis de  
Silua con-  
cerning this  
voyage.

age,

age, which was their onely want. He alleged that it was most easie to goe by sea standing in no feare of any enemie, most profitable, for that the way short and the descent easie, vnderstanding that there was no resistance: contrariwise it was most dangerous to march by land, being ignorant where the enemie did lie, & what forces he had: So as supposing him to be far off, he might be at their backs, and ha-  
ving any wants which happen often in an Armie, being far from the sea, they should hardly be supplied; that betwixt Alarache and them did run the riuier of *Lixe* (called by *Ptolome Lixos*) vpon the left bank whereof standeth the towne, that hauing neither bridge nor barkes to passe, they must ( leauing the sea side by a long course seeke a foorde, or the Moores bridge, whither being come, it were doubtfull to know with what facilitie they should passe it, being likely the enemis would fortifie the passage. Betwixt these two contrarie opinions the one by sea, the other by lande, the thirde was spoken of, the which was to march along the sea side in view of the Fleet, with their Chariots vpon the left hand in stead of Rampiers, and being come to the mouth of the riuier to passe them with their barkes, but this opinion ( which seemed to be lesse hurtfull ) was not liked of by the King; although the rest that would haue gone by sea gaue eare to it most willingly; yet those that did contradict it, although they were more in number, yet being of lesse authoritie ( the King being of the other partie ) the worst of all three ( which was to goe by lande ) pre-  
uyaled.

*Mulei Mahamet* seeing the King so hot in this action grew daily into new feares, hoping of no good successe, he doubted before, that if the King should haue the victorie, he would charge him with too heauie a yoke, but hauing viewed the Armie, he lost all hope of victorie if they should fight, and therefore thought it most conuenient to aduise the King to goe by sea to Alarache, hoping he should easily win that place and returne into Portugall with that victorie, leauing his

*The counsell*  
*of Mulei*  
*Mahamet*  
*to the King*  
*of Portugall.* Armie in Affricke, by meanes whereof he hoped to win such credit that they should abandon *Moluc* and flye vnto him; & yet if he would fight to do it with more facilitie and greater iudgement then it seemed to him *Sebastien* would. But his counsell preuailed no more with the King then the rest, so as commaunding *Diego de Sosa* to attend him with the Fleet at Alarache, he marched with his whole Ar-  
mie

mie to *Alcasarquinir*, being the direct way vnto the bridge, hauing but *The Armie of the Portugals and other quality* 13000.foote, and 1500.horse; that is 8000 Portugals, 3000. Germaines, 1000.Spaniards, and 600. Italians, with twelue peeces of Artillerie: but the more they aduanced into the firme lande, the more their feare increased, and chiefly of them that perswaded to goe by sea. And although some did againe shew vnto the King, that Errors in war cannot be repaired, that it would be too late after to change his resolution, and that he ought to haue great care in the execution of those things that cannot be redressed, beseeching him not to cast himself into so dangerous an enterprise, and aboue all not to leaue the sea, laying before him the perill, the small gaine, the want of victuals, and the little or no experience of the souldiers: yet nothing preuailed, but as it often happeneth that we reap a bad recompence for good counsel, being discotented with those he should haue fauoured, he would scarce heare the. The rest knowing by this proose he would accept of no counsell, durst not aduise him for feare of his disgrace. The Armie had no chiefe leaders able to commaund, and therfore could neither march, lodge, nor fight in order: For although the King serued as Generall, *Edward de Meneses* Marshall of the Campe, with some others of lesse qualitie, yet they wanted experience: for although the strangers had their commanders of more experience in actions of war then the Portugals, as the *Marques* generall of the Italians, the Lord of Tamberg of the Germaines, and *Alphonso d'Aguilar* of the Spaniards, yet for that none of them was Generall, and being strangers they might not dispose of the Armie, so as none of the Portugals knew his charge. The King the 29. of Iuly made his first lodging at the Milles three miles from Arzilla; the second at Menera; where he had aduertisement that *Molic* approched. From thence he wrote his letters to Lisbone to *Peter d'Alcasoura* briefly, but ful of ouerweening, in the which he said he vnderstood that *Molic* drew neere him, and if he escaped not he woulde ioyne battell with him. At that time arriued Captaine *Frauncis d'Aldana* who had promised to serue the King, and for that effect had obtainede leave of the Catholike King, (which no man else could do): as a man expert in war hauing viewed the ill disposition of the Campe, began to execute all the greatest charges, disposing the souldiers in the best order that he could, althought being a stranger and of no credit with the Portugals, he could

could not effect all he vnderstood: In this sort they marched slowly lodging alwaies in places of aduantage, by the industrie of the saide Aldana and of Philip Terzy, who serued as Ingener; although they discouered some horse, yet knew they not for certaine what Moluc pretended: Aldana brought vnto the King letters from the Duke of

*Letters and  
a Present  
from the  
Duke of  
Alua to the  
King of  
Portingall.*

Alua, with present of a headpiece which was the Emperours Charles the fift, and a cassocke of white taffetic, with the which the said Charles entered conquerour into Tunis: He said vnto some, that he had beene sorrie the King should attempt any thing in the firme lande of Affricke: But hearing by his owne letters that he would onely goe to Alarache, he did receiue great contentment, and did commend his resolution; being in the meane time come into certaine small hils which they call Cabeza d'Ardana, they tooke their third lodging, from thence they went to Bercain, but to come to the fift they must passe the small riuier of Muazen at a foord, the which falleth somewhat lower into Lixe.

Moluc aduertised of the Portugals course, hauing made longer staie at his lodging beyond Alcazar then he meant, to giue the enimie better meanes to approch, his troupes being ioined, he dislodged the second of August, marching towards Alcazar: The day following he went directly towards the bridge, which the Portugals sought for, and being passed did strongly encampe themselues towards the sea, not meaning to passe any farther: the waies being full of hils, though easie to mount and to passe with carriage and artillerie, yet not commodious to giue battaile where the armie consisted most of horse-men. The same day the Portugals had passed Muazen, and come to their fift lodging, they were in doubt whether to encampe on this side or on the other side of a small riuier, which beginnes in the marshes of Alcasarquiuir, part of the armie hauing passed the water, they turned head, resoluing to lodge on this side: there they vnderstoode that Moluc approached, making shew to fight; and if it had not growne late the armies might haue discovered each other. Moluc grew then extremely sicke, without hope to liue many daies, not forbearing to command and dispose of all things that were necessarie with great resolution: and seeing the enimie to draw neare, he first called his brother vnto him saying. That although he did not thinke him to haue the spirite and courage fit for the place, he woulde giue him,

*Moluc's  
speecche to his  
brother.*

him; yet being his brother, he made him generall ouer all the horse, that he might fight, conquer, and die with them, assuring him that if he were noted with the least shew of cowardise, he himselfe would strangle him with his owne handes, and issuing foorth of his tent, he put his armie into battaile, going himselfe from ranke to ranke in a small litter carried by men, executing the office of a Sergeant. His armie of *Moluc* consisted of many nations, there were three thousand Moores of *Andalouſie*, as well on foote as horsebacke vnder the conduct of *Doali Algori* and *Osain* their Commaunders, valiant men, which are those that passed into Affricke from the warres of Alpuſſarres or the mountaines of Grenado; he had also three thousand foote, and twentie fife thousand horse, with a thousand Harquebuziers on horsebacke, the most part of them Renegados and Turkes, all of them men of warre, entertained daily in paie: and this was the principall force of his campe. He had about ten thousand horse gathered together, & fife thousand foote, so as in all he had about fortie thousand horse, & eight thousand foote, besides a great number of Arabians and aduenturers that were come vnto him. *Moluc* had no great confidence in the hirelings or Arabians, esteeming the first fearefull, and the last inconstant. Amongſt his entertained bandes, he had likewife three thousand horse, which (as is faide) he suspected to be friends to *Mulei Mahamet*, and not greatly fauouring his rule. But the Portugals who for their honour do willingly augment their number, affirme that the Moores were threescore and ten thousand horse, and twenty thousand foote, and the Moores (who do encrease their owne actions) doe report their number to be very great: but it is verified by men without passion, that although *Moluc* coulde haue assembled threescore thousand horse, and more footemen then he did; yet had he no more in his armie, then we haue specified, with thirtie and fower peeces of artillerie. *Moluc* kept to himselfe the title of Generall, he gaue to his brother (as is faide) the charge of all the horse. *Osarin* of Raguse was Colonell of all the Harquebuziers on horsebacke: *Mahamet Faba* of the Renegados: *Doaly* of the Andalusians, the rest were vnder men of leſſe qualitie, euery one commanding his nation: & *Musa* was captaine of his guard. The same day towards night *Moluc* sent *Soliman* the master of his horse, a Renegado of Cordube, with certaine horse to view the enimies armie, and to discouer if

they were in battaile, who descrying the Portugals that had passed  
 the riuers to returne againe; did not beleue it had bin done to leaue  
 the riuer betwixt the two armes, but imagined they had retired: he  
 returned to the campe with this false newes that the Portugals fled;  
 wherewith the Moores being moued, woulde haue purfued and not  
 let them depart without some damage: but *Moluc* woulde not suffer  
 them, and as a wise Capitaine who pretended onely to defende him-  
 selfe, and to make a bridge vnto the enimie if he woulde flic, saide,  
 Let them goe in a good hower, I will not runne after them; sodainly  
 he altered the disposition of his armie, not for that he beleueed the  
 Portugals were retired; but being informed by *Mahamet Taba* Co-  
 lonell of the Renegados, that there was treason in his campe, forasmuch  
 as there were three thousand Harquebuziers Moores, that had  
 neither powder nor bullet, sodainly he caused to be proclaimed, that  
 whosoeuer wanted munition shoulde repaire vnto the Purueior, and  
 he should furnish him, and euery Harquebuzier that shoulde be found  
 the next morning without fistic bullets, and two pounds of powder,  
 shoulde be corporally punished: He called vnto him likewise all the  
 Capitanes (and to be more assured of their fidelities, and to take from  
 them all meanes to effect any treason they might haue practised) he  
 changed euery mans charge, and made one Capitaine of an others  
 companie, without leauing any man of qualite in his accustomed  
 place.

This night passed with more quiet then the neerenes of the armes  
 did threaten: And although *Sebastian* had proclaimed that no man  
 shoulde shoote at any Moore, that shoulde willingly retire himselfe  
 into their campe, but receiue him; yet there came not any one, either  
 for that they bare no such affection to *Mahamet* as he made a shew of,  
 or for that they kept so strict a guard in the Moores campe, that none  
 coulde issue foorth, as indeed they did. It preuailed little for *Maha-  
 met* to plant his colours in the head of the armie, as it were calling  
 them, for no man stirred. And the day being come the Portugals  
 held a Councell what to doe? The King became more milde, hauing  
 assembled the chiefe, heard with greater patience the opinions of  
 such as would not haue proceeded so farre. They propounded either  
 to retire backe, or to march against Alarache, & to passe the riuer at  
 the mouth: but the most expert in warre, those that had dissuaded  
 the

the course they had taken, and laboured by al meanes to flie the sight of the enimie , helde that they must fight; the resolusion being too late nowe to auoide the battaile, and to turne head : for to retire they could not without great losse : to stande still, want of victuals would not suffer them: and to continue their vndertaken way, they coulde not without the hazard of a battaile : that it was better to encounter the enimie valiantly, then to giue him courage by a retraite , or by shunning the way. The Cheriffe *Mulei Mahanet*, although his hopes to recover this kingdome were grounded vpon the onely victorie of a battaile ( and that the King being master of Alarache and the sea townes, he shoulde reap no profit thereby ) yet did he all he coulde to dissuade him from fight, esteeming the Portugals to be inferiour, perswading them to keepe close togither, and to seeke meanes to retire although it were with some losse. And although *Sebastian* were somewhat tempered, yet was he not amazed, like to all the rest, but with great courage desired the combate , not esteeming the enimies forces so great as they were : No man durst contradict him, both for that (as it is saide) many thought it necessarie to ioine battaile , as also for that the Portugals doe generally thinke it cowardise to disswade from fighting, holding it more honourable to loose a battaile with rashnes, then to conquer with cunning and iudgement, without fighting. For this reason it was resolued ( after great contrarie of opinions ) to march against the enimie , although some practises of peace were yet in hande, but with weake hopes: So as the same morning they dislodged, hauing deuided their armie into three squadrons, the one following the other immediately, and almost vntited togither ; that in the front, was in a manner diuided into three, for in the middest the aduenturers were led by *Alvaro Pirez*, brother and Lieutenant to *Christopher of Tauora*: on the left hande were the Castillians led by *Alphonso d'Aguilar*, lined with Harquebuziers of the same nation, commanded by *Lewis d'Godoy*: and the Germanines were on the lefthande vnder the Lord of Tamberg, intermixed with Harquebuziers Italians, and those Portugals that vsed to be at Tanger, commanded by captaine *Hercules d'Pisa*: euery nation was set in long rankes with their Commanders in the front. In an other squadron which did second this, were the Portugals of *Michell de Norogna* and *Vasco de Sylveira*, with harquebuziers in flanke : and in the other which

*The order of  
the Portugals armie.*

*The second Booke of the*

scrued for the reward, were the Portugals of *Diego Lopez de Sequeira* and *Frauncis de Tauora* ( although that *Sequeira* remained at Arzilla,) for the guard whereof besides two wings of shot, there were three hundred Harquebuziers in the reward: on both sides of the armie were their horsemen deuided being in all fiftene hundred, placed in triangles, whereof the right wing was commanded by *George d'Alencastro Duke d'Auero*: on the left side was the standerd Roiall, *Jean de Sylua*, Embassadour for the Catholique King, and yoong *Theodoze Duke of Barcellos*, ( for so they call the eldest sonne of the Dukes of Braganç ) and on the right hande a little separated, were about two hundred horse, of those which liue commonly on thosc frontiers, which they call Africans: not far from them were the Moores, of the Cheriffe *Mabamet*, but fewe in number: In this order they marched with their baggage in the midst betwixt their horse and foote on the right winge, leauing a space on both sides betwixt their squadrons to retire if need were.

*The dispositi-*

*on of Mo-*

*luc's Armies:*

*Moluc* who lost no opportunitie, had now put his armie in battaile; he placed his footmen ( which were all Harquebuziers ) in forme of a crescent; the first rank were of Andalusians, the second of Renegados, and the last of Africane placed exprely in this sort, for that one nation being enimie to an other, they night presse forwarde their contraries, and not suffer them retire: ypon the two hornes of the crescent, he planted two squadrons of ten thousand horse in each; and behinde ( as it were in the reward ) followed in equall distance, all their horse in small troopes, resoluing ( if they ment to fight ) with so great a number of men to compasse in the Portugals armie, and charge them on euery side. But in the meane time his sicknes encrased, feeling himselfe die by degrees: and although his Phisitions vsed all their skill to succour him, yet decaying howerly, they founde he coulde not liue two daies. He fel a double death by reason of the time wherein he died, and not being able to execute his resolution in this warre, he doubted that he shoulde not leauie any one that could effect them. For although hee were then in battaile, yet had hee no meaning to fight at that instant, foreseeing ( after that hee vnderstood the Portugals did march into the maine land with their baggage ) if they sought to delay the battell, they were all vndone, and that without the losse of any one man he would take them all prisoners,

prisoners, by reason of the want they should find in that poore coun-  
try of Affricke : But seeing this resolution ( which required time and  
could not bee effected in haste ) would not succeed by reason of the  
shortnes of his life, he was much troubled. He thought it not conuen-  
ient to discouer his conceit vnto his brother , that should succeede  
him, both for that he much doubted of his iudgement, and knowing  
assuredly that if he died before the victorie , the Moores would flic,  
and rebell against his brother, and yeeld to the Portugals, chiefly by  
the pretence of *Mulei Mahamet*, and in this manner the kingdome  
would be lost. Afflicted with these cares, seeing the enimie neere with  
so great an Armie , and his death approaching , he resolued not to  
trust his heire, but leauing his first resolution, rather during his life to  
hazard a bloodie and doubtfull battell against all Reason of warre ;  
then to die with feare of the losse of his Realme, the which he knew af-  
furedly would happen after his death : being resolued to fight , all  
practises of accord dismissed, he assembled the chiese commauanders  
of the Armie, and spake vnto them in this manner.

Your valour (souldiers,) and the iustice of the cause which hath put  
Armies into your hands, will not suffer me to speake much to encou-  
rage you to fight : For you are those who vnder my command, haue  
alwaies brought to happie ende euerie enterprise were it both diffi-  
cult and dangerous. The enimies which you haue in front, are the  
same Portugals, which in times past, your fathers and your owne  
right hands haue often vanquished and ouercome. The Italians and  
Germans, which are come to their succours ( more terrible in name  
then in deed ) should not any thing amaze you , being men without  
experience, and in small numbers. And as for me who haue some-  
times made tryall of them, I take vpon me the charge to yeeld them  
subiect to your forces. And if reason preuaile any thing in battell, shal  
not the victorie be on our side ? We liued quiet in our houses, with-  
out vexing or molesting any one , content with our fortunes ; not  
practising against the wealth and prosperitie of any other : And a na-  
tion by nature our enimies, differing in law, comes from a far coun-  
try, not onely to pull from me my Crowne, but also to spoile you  
of all your goods, to deprive you of your libertie, and to rauish your  
liues : You perchance suppose, that in this wicked people, pietie hath  
so much force, as to plant *Mahamet* in the kingdome ( a stranger, con-  
trarie

*Molines O-  
ration to his  
Armie.*

» trarie to their Religion) whose friendship and bountie is vnkowne  
 » to them; they shoulde vndertake this paines to hazard themselues to  
 » death. It is the thirst of gold, and of your blood, with the desire to rule,  
 » that hath brought the King of Portugall hither, supported not by his  
 » owne forces, but with the hopes he hath to deceiue you, vnder this fai-  
 » ned shew of pietie, to this Infidell Mahomet; who if he had any feeling  
 » of a man, shoulde be rather contented, to liue subiect to my Empire,  
 » according to our lawes, then (inuading my Realme by force) procure  
 » the destruction of his owne blood, the ruine of his countrey, the  
 » slaughter of you all, and the slauerie of himselfe. But the deceit is ap-  
 » parant to you all, there remaines nothing but that you oppose your  
 » valour, which shall fight in a most iust cause: You shall repell iniu-  
 » ries from your families, maintaine your liberties, preserue your liues,  
 » and win honor, and conquering, or dying in what sort soever, you  
 » shall gaine Paradise. Moluc would haue spoken more, but his souldiers  
 » interrupted him; crying, that he shoulde presently lead them a-  
 » gainst the Portugals, whereupon he held his peace, retyring himselfe  
 » into his Littor in the midst of the circle of his Armie, where were his  
 » colours and his guard.

In the meane time the Christian Armie marched on, and approa-  
 ched neare the enemie, in an open Champion, (which the Moores cal-  
 Tamiza.) When as Moluc halfe dead, viewing this weake Armie ap-  
 proach in so small a number, being not aboue 12000. foote, he gaue  
 order they shoulde not flie, as he had resolued before, that seeming as-  
 fured of the victorie there might few escape: And therefore exten-  
 ding the hornes of his croissant and the troupes of his horse, he drew  
 them into a large circuit, keeping his men rounde, about a cannon  
 shot from the enemie, he inuironed all the Portugals campe, ioyned  
 the two hornes at the backe of the reward, making it an ouall circle:  
 having thus inuironed it, he then straitened it, drawing his troupes  
 more close togither (so cunning were these barbarous people) so as  
 the Christians Armie being compassed in of all sides with their horse,  
 the Moores footmen stood in front to stop their passage: They con-  
 tinued long in this estate, the Moores discharged their artillerie at a  
 reasonable distance, the which though it did a little indamage them  
 (some bullets passing thorowe the rankes) yet did it no great matter  
 of importance. The Portugals fearfull and amased (imagining vpon  
 the

*The begin-  
ning of the  
battell.*

the first mouing of the Moores, that they dislodged to depart ) seeing themselves iniuroned, did likewise discharge their cannon, but with so great disorder, and so much out of season, as it did small hurt. And forasmuch as the Moores ( hauing charged their cannon againe, began to play, although to small effect) yet the Portugals were so much terrified, that vpon sight of the fire, they fell all to the ground : wherewith the King ( least the artillerie shoulde any more annoy the Portugals, and augment their feare,) gaue signe to the battaile : whereat the squadrons of the auanguard and of the horse, did jointly moue with woonderfull force and great valour : then their footemen encountered the Moores, who came to it resolutely, for that the Andalusians, (desirous to reuenge olde wrongs) did their best endeouers : The auanguard did so withstand their force, that although the fight was in equall ballance whilst the shot plaied, yet when they came to handie blowes, the Moores had the woorst, for they were thrice broken and put to flight, with the losse of their colours : But for that their number was great, the battaile was still renewed by their Commaunders, with fresh troupes and newe order. In the reward they likewise charged *Francis de Tanora*, with the regiment of *Diego Lopez de Sequiera*, where for a while they resisted weakely : Those in the middest were the last that fell to armes: But *Moluc* gaue them no long time of rest, for he sent to assaile *Vasco de Sylueire*, and *Michael de Norogna*, on both sides, so as at one instant they fought on all partes: These made weaker resistance then the rest, for that some of them casting cowardly away their armes, and falling on their knees, yeelded to the discretion of the Moores, who for the most part deuided their heads with their Cimbers, in recompence of their base yeelding. The combate being hot on all sides, the circle of the Moores horse, & their squadrons that were behinde, drew neere, and first charged the auanguard, where they found their succours were more necessarie then in any other part; (for that the Italians and Castillians had cut in peeces a great number of the Moores, and of their best men,) pressing the Christians armie on all sides they coulde approch, without any disorder of their owne, who nowe growne fearefull, began to loose grounde, and to shrinke togither, to the great discontentment of the King, who for any labour of this, coulde not containe them in their rankes. As these Moorish horsemen began to moue, the Portugals

The Portugals  
gave  
the aduan-  
tage of the  
Moores.

gals horse that were accustomed to liue in those frontiers, the Moores of the Cheriffe *Mahonet*, and the Duke of Auero with his triangle did valiantly march towards them, charging the first they mette, & greatly endomaging them, and put their horsemen on that side to flight. This happie beginning of victorie lasted little: for whilst the Duke who commanded the greatest number, did fight hand to hand, he discouered on the one side not farre from him, a great troupe of the enimies horse, the which he durst not attende, doubting his owne strength, but turning head, followed exprefly the chase of those that were before him, thinking to returne to the fight with greater aduantage, as indeede he did: for turning his horse, he went to charge them that came to encounter him in flanke; but finding himfelf ouercharged on euery side, wanting courage to withstand them, and turning his horses violently, pressed by the enimie, he found no place of retrait among the squadrons, but rushing through the rankes of the Germanines, some part of the horse entring amongst the foote, bredde a great confusion; and being vnable to relieu themselues, they wrought no other effect, but disordered their friends, who were after lesse able to resist the enimies horse and foote, that came to charge them: On the other side of the armie, where stoode the Standard roiall, and the rest of the horse, which set forwarde somewhat slower, they made a great slaughter of Moores, ( although the King were not present, being gone toward the vanguard ) whom they pursued euen vnto their artillerie: But being succoured by one of the squadrons that were behinde them, the Moores returned furiously vnto the fight, so as in short time it hapned vnto the Portugals that were in that part, as to their other horse, whose successe was so much the worse, for that on the outside they were charged by the Moores, and within, their foote were disordered by their horse, who had the charge on the other side, and all amazed, fledde; so as in a moment all was confounded, the Portugals horse remained disordered, and dispersed, shewing small courage, and lesse discipline: for although it were full of Nobilitie, and men of resolution; yet were there many yoong men sent by their fathers, who not expecting they shoulde come to fight, were the cause of this disorder: so as in one place you shoulde see men of one squadron both fight valiantly and flie away cowardly not being pursued: yet the Commaunders of the horse,

horse, and some others, turning face to the enemies, they both by words and effect encouraged the rest, and slew some that fled: But as their number was small, and the amasement great, they preuailed little. In the vanguard ( where the King was a looker on) they made great resistance, killing aboue two thousand Moores, but they were in so great numbers, that the Italians and Spaniards who fought on that side (not being succoured by any others) after they had encountered the enimies with their daggers, were in a manner all slaine, nor overcome, but wearie with killing. The small order they obserued to inuest the enimie, was hurtfull vnto them; for the front being composed of diuers nations, who contented to make shewe of their valour, they did not one stay for another, and the Germaines more flegmatike, remained behinde; so as their forces dismembred, wrought not that effect they had done waited: yet notwithstanding the valour of those men, the first charge of the horse, especially of the Africanes, commanded by *Edward de Menses*, strooke a great terror in the beginning vnto *Mulei Moluc*; for seeing his men flee ( although he were sicke to the death) mounted to horse in choler, going towards them that ranne away, to staine them, and encourage them. And al- though the presse encreased, and the shot of the Christians drewe neere, he made shewe to march himselfe foremost, either to retaine his men by shame, or by the hazarde whereunto hee shoulde thrust himselfe: But his greatest fauorites came about him, some holding him by the stirrops, some by his gowne, and some by the raines of his bridle, beseeching him not to hazarde himselfe. But he persisting his resolution, and they to stay him, he grew in choler, laying holde of his sworde to disperse them, at what time being seased with a cruell fit of his disease, he swounged, and had fallen from his horse; but being taken downe by them about him, he was laid in his Litter, where putting his finger vnto his mouth insigne of silence, sodainely, or (as some report) before he was laide downe, he gaue vp the ghost. The Renegados which remained neare about him, kept his death secret, with great care, hauing so formerly appoin- ted if he should die; an argumēt of great magnauitie in this Barba- rian, who measured his counsels with the hower of his life, and prouit ded that death shoulde not deprive them of the victorie. The Lit- ter being shur, they placed at the doore awittie yoong childe, who  
*Moluc's  
death.*  
*being*

being instructed what he had to doe , making shewe to speake vnto him, and receiue his answer, tolde them his pleasure was, they shoulde passe forwards. This secret was of great importance to the Moores, for without doubt if his death had beeene discouered , they had all fled. The Arabians who were not come with any intent to fight, but with a desire to spoile the conquered , hauing first viewed some Moores ruine away, that their Mercenaries grew scaredfull, who kept their lodgynge, doubting some ill successe ; they fell vpon the Moores baggage , and spoiled it, putting to flight such as kept it, who running euern vnto Feez , with many others of the campe , gaue out that the Moores had lost the field : so dangerous a thing it is in an armie to conduct a nation light and vnconstant, who vpon the least contrarie euent falles vpon his friendes. But fortune who had hitherto beeene doubtfull, although it seemed more to fauour the Moores then the Portugals, after the Italians and Castillians were defeated, remaining yet a good number of Germanes and aduenturers disordred , did now shewe it selfe apparant in fauour of the Moores, and the victorie assured, hauing gotten their artillerie : For the Renegados who were in the second ranke of the Moores, their orders being open, did without any confusion receiue the Andaluzians, and all those that had beeene broken by the vanguard and fled, who returning a fresh to charge the aduenturers and Germanes , they founde but weake resistance. The arriuall of certaine Renegados that fled from the enemies preuailed but little , bringing newes of the death of Moluc : For although some went vp and downe crying victorie , and publishing that Moluc was dead , thereby to encourage the souldiers ; yet was there no meanes to draw the Portugals to imitate the example of the strangers ; but all scaredfull without any courage, retiring themselues, they still lost of the field : The squadrons of the maine battaile did not yet mooue, but vnfurnished of shot ( who without keeping their places were crept forward ) did stande firme without succouring of their friends , saying, that such was the Kings commandement, and therefore charged by the Moores shotte on horsebacke, were miserablie confundē, when as their commanders finding their errors would haue drawne them forwarde, the souldiers were so amazed, that they couldē not doe it.

*Francis de Tavora slain in the battaile.* In the reteward Francis de Tavora was slaine with a shotte, hauing long by his valour withstandē the Moores charge;

charge; but being dead his men grew more amazed then before, crying for mercie without fighting, & flying away without any respect of the King, who was come thither from the vanguard: they retired of all parts so farre backe, with so great a confusion, and without consideration whither they went, that all the squadrons in a confus'd order came close togither on all sides; so as the horse, souldiers, chariots, munition, tents and pauillions, with their other baggage, came all confusedly togither on a heape, and in such a straite, that many were troden downe in the presse, and smothered vnder the horse and chariots: So as this armie which did containe aboue three miles in compasse, was in a moment consumed by the fworde, and did so restraine it selfe through feare, that a small roome might containe it. The Duke of Auero, Embassador for the Catholique king, *Aldana* and some other chiefe men, hauing gathered togither some horse, charged the Moores first on the one side, and then on the other, where they did see greatest neede, but being disordred and fewe in number, if they preuailed on the one side, they receiued hurt on the other: For at the same instant when as certaine of them attended the King towardes the rereward, whereas there needed succours, there came a great number of Arabians against the vanguard, who according to their custome, to fall vpon those, whom they see in route, charged that part with such furie, that they slewe almost all the Germanines with their Captaines, and many men of account: There the Duke was slaine with a shot, *Aldana* died likewise: the Embassador of the Catholique King was hurt and taken prisoner, so was the Prior and the Marshall of the field. These being dismounted, euery man fled; the Moores entring into the ranks of the Christians, with their Cymiters cut them miserablie in peeces:

*The death  
of the Duke  
of Auero,  
and of Al-  
dama, and  
the impi-  
sonment of  
the Prior.*

Whilst this was adooing, the fire fell by chaunce into the Portugall munition, which did endamage them no more then the Moores: for as they entred among their baggage, it consumed manie of them. The circle of the Barbarians horse did no way guarde the passage towards the sea, so as the Christians that ment to flie that way, might easily doe it, but such as thought to returne to Arzille were either slaine or taken prisoners; for such as escaped the Moores, being ignorant of the waisies, and passage of the riuers, were either drowned, or fell into their handes, who made them slauues:

There were many drowned, deceiued with the rising of the riuers, & ignorant of their former passage; for whereas the riuers (and particularly Muazzen) doe ebbe and flowe, like the Ocean by the course of the Moone, filling it selfe with salt water, when the armie passed they were almost dry; but in their returne, the Tide (as they commonly say) being full the riuers were greatly risen, wherof the Portugals being ignorant, and vnskilfull of the Ford, fearefull, and chased by the Moores, they were swallowed vp; so as of a great multitude of Christians, which were in this battaile, therd escaped but one hundred, so well coulde the Barbarians execute their resolutions. The King (who in the beginning when as Molues artillerie first plaied, went through the armie in coach with Christopher de Tauora) tooke his horse, and as they say, went couragiously toward the vanguard, where remaining a while a looker on, sending first one, then another, to commaund what he thought was necessarie, he was lightly hurt with a shot in the right arme towarde the shoulder, whereof making small account, he went ordering thinges in all parts of the armie, leauing the triangle of horse where his Standard remained.

5. » But for that he was yoong, and depriued of the greatest treasure  
 » that Kings can enjoy, I meane a wise man neere him in whome he  
shoulde trust, when he did see his men begin to breake, and the  
Duke of Auero to go forward and retyre backe, he came furiously  
with certaine Gentlemen that were about him, to fight among the  
souldiers, encouraging his men valiantly by the effects, but with  
fewe words. Those that behelde him fight, woondered at his cou-  
rage, for although that they slew three horse vnder him, without  
any whit daunting him, yet was he never wearie to charge, strike,  
and succour all partes of the armie, where was greatest daun-  
ger: But being but a man, aided by fewe, he cannot resist the eni-  
mies furie; nor make his friends partakers of his valour. Manie of  
the Nobilitie which remained yet on horsebacke, seeing the armie  
in route, fought the King in all parts to helpe to saue him: but the  
Standard which was carried before him as a marke to knowe him,  
was now taken, and the bearer slaine; and being deceiued with an-  
other somewhat like unto it, which Edward de Menezes carried, they  
followed the one in steade of the other; so as the King remained as  
a man lost, with some of his most trufte seruants about him, and  
one

*The King of  
Portugall  
fights val-  
iantly, but is  
vanquished.*

one Renegado, who laboured to saue him: Hauing in vaine sought to fly, being aduised to yeeld with his armes, he would by no means agree vnto it. One amongst them holding vpon the point of his sworde a white napkin in signe of peace, went towards the Moores, as an Embassadour for the rest to yeelde : but they either barbarous, or wrathfull, tooke the messenger prisoner, and charged the rest, who being fewe in number, wearied, & without courage, they were all slaine. Some say, there grew a controuersie amongst them about the Kings owne person, and for that occasion they slew him : They sent after to secke his bodie, and by a notable example of the *The King  
slaine by the  
Moores, and  
carried to  
Moluc  
tent.* inconstancie of this world, they carried it naked vpon a saddle pom-mell, into the roiall tent of *Moluc*, where letting it fall to the ground, it was carefully viewed by the Nobilitie that was there present, & a publike certificate made that it was he , keeping it afterwardes at Alcazer-Quiuier. Such was the death of this vnfortunate King , wherein chaunced all things that might make him lamentable, his yoong age, the expectation of his vertues, the want of succession, his violent death, and the imprisonment of his bodie. He was indued with excellent qualities, but nothing profitable vnto him, wanting by reason of his vnripe yeeres, that predominante vertue of our actions : For all his resolutions that did guide him to so rash an end, were grounded vpon his magnanimitie, zeale to religion, liberalitie, thirst of militarie glorie; of the disposition of his body, and the vigour of his courage. It seemes that we may well saie of this vnfortunate yoong Prince, that which was sometimes spoken of *Alexander the Great*; That Nature had giuen him vertue, and Fortune vices : For in truth *Sebastian* had his vertues of nature, and his vices from his education. *Mulei Mahamet* escaped his enimies hands, but his too great haste to passe Muazen, and to recover Ar-zille, was the cause he was drowned in his passage. Those whome idlenes had made curious, did note the diuersitie of these Princes deathes, for being all lost in one battaile, within the space of sixe houres, the one died of his naturall death; the second by the sword; the thirde was smothered in the water. When as *Hamel* see the battaile wonne, he ranne towardes his brother, thinking to finde him aliue, and to reioice with him: but being come to his litter, they enformed him of his death. And although *Moluc* had left one sonne,

*Hanet  
proclaimed  
king of the  
Moores.*

yet did they salute *Hanet* as their King, running through their campe with ensignes proclaiming of his name, according to their custome: And for that according to the conformitie of the grandfathers will, the eldest (as it is saide) of the nephewes should succeede, therefore *Hanet* was sworne Prince. The Moores fell to spoile, and took prisoners, making a very rich bootie, by reason of many precious things the Portugals had brought with them into the campe; but especially for the prisoners, which were in great number, and of great importance, for their wealth and nobilitie: besides that the Moores make more account of one Portugall prisoner, then of any other nation, for that being delicate and notable to suffer, they redeeme theselues for great sums, as these gentlemen did afterwards; who by an example of small patience, set themselues at fife thousand duckats a peece and more. This day was famous by the death of three Kings; that is, *Sebastian*, *Mulei Moluc*, and *Mulei Mahamet*,

*A battaille  
famous by  
the death of  
three Kings.*

by the imprisonment of all the Nobilitie of a Realme, &c of so many souldiers; a thing seldom or never hapned; and also for the importance of *Sebastians* death, in the other affaires of the worlde. The number of the dead, was not so great as of the prisoners; but for that the truth is hard to be verified, it hath bred diuers opinions in the Portugals: Some haue reported that the enimies were infinite in number; others haue bin more moderate; yet haue they augmented this point: Notwithstanding there died three thousand Moores, and as many Christians, or more; amongst the which were some men of account: For besides the Captaines of the strangers, and the Duke of Auero, there was slaine *Alphonso* of Portugall, Earle of Vimiosa; *Lewes Coutigno*, Earle of Rodondo; *Vasco de Gama*, Earle of Vidigueria; *Alphonso* of Norogna, Earle of Mira; *John Lobo*, Baron of Aluito; *Aluara* of Melo, sonne to the Marques of Ferrara; *Rhoderick* of Melo, eldest sonne to the Earle of Tentuguel; *Iamie* brother to the Duke of Bragance; *John de Silueira*, eldest sonne to the Earle of Sorteglia; *Christopher* of Tauora; and manie other of account, so as some noble families were there wholie extint. *Arias* of Silua, Bishop of Porto, and *Emanuel* of Meneses, Bishop of Coimbra, died likewise: The Duke of Barcellos, with *Anthony* Prior of Crato, were taken prisoners. The newe King having gathered togither his armie, and the greatest number of

*The names  
of the chief  
slaine in the  
battaille.*

prisoners

prisoners he could get, resolued to returne to Feez ; where he entered in great triumph : For besides the colours taken, and the number of Captiuies he led with him, he caused the bodie of *Mulei Mahamer* to be founde out, and hauing flaied it, and filled the skin with strawe, he carried it in triumph, to take from the Moores al the hope they had conceiued in him. After he studied carefully to discouer the Gentlemen that were prisoners, taking them from the Moores and Iewes, who had bought them for a small price, to drawe from them a greater raunsome, as indeede he did : Whereupon hee was noted by some to be more couetous then valiant, seeming a great indiscretion, that after so great and absolute a victorie, remaining no reliques of an enimies armie , he shoulde so sodainly betake himselfe to rest. They woulde ( being but twentie and fve miles from the fortes which the Portugals held in Affrick ) he should presently haue laboured to force them, and haue freed the Prouiance from such a curbe ( being the opinion of the most expert ) that if he had aduanced his campe, he had soone forced them, vnfurnished both with men and munition ; and the Portugals that were there in guard remaining so astonished, for the death of their King, that they could hardly haue made defence, and so much the lesse hauing small hope to be succoured out of Portugall, *Sebastian* hauing carried with him all the Nobilitie which were woont to defende those places. So as vpon this discourse, many saide, as was spoken to *Hannibal* of the same nation , that the Africane although they knowe sometimes how to vanquish, yet coulde they not vse the victorie : But all well considered, the Moore proceeded in this action, with more iudgement, then others beleueed, for not suffering himselfe to be carried away with prosperitie , hauing aduertisement that the Realme of Feez ( the which they had receiued from such as had escaped the day of the batteale the handes of the vanguard of the Christians and of the Arabians ) was somewhat altered, seeing himselfe newly King, he thought it more conuenient being armed to goe pacifie his people, and take assured possession of the Realme, then to busie himselfe with newe conquests, and leaue the certaine in doubt for the vncertaine : Besides , hauing well considered the conquest of these fortresses of the sea, he did not esteeme them easie, but of hard attempt : for besides they wanted no garrisons, and that Portugall

*The con-  
tousnes of  
Hamer.*

was not yet so vnpeopled, but that it might soone be succoured, he held it for most certaine, that King Philip for his owne priuate interest would defend them with all his force, the which he might easilie effect by reason of the great number of galleies hee had prepared readie in Spaine, fearing perchance that which had happened. And for that he doubted the Andaluzians might haue some intelligence with the Turkes, and practise some treason against his person, hee cut off the head of *Doali* and some other Commauanders, and of some others of his traine. By this meanes *Hamet* got the name of a wise and considerate Prince, the which he preserued, gouerning himselfe with iudgement.

*The Portugals armie at sea returns to Lisbone.*

*Diego de Sosa* Generall of the armie at sea, who as we haue said, remained neere Alarache, hearing the noise of the artillerie, and the brute of the two armies, most assured they were in fight, he knew not what to doe: for although his commission was there to attende the King, yet he doubted least the viewe of the enemie might force him to change his resolution, or that the way shoulde be stopped, and that he shoulde expect him in vaine, not resoluing whether it were more expedient to returne to Arzille, or attend in that place: He made likewise a question, whether he shoulde batter Alarache, (whereunto he was enclined) thinking by his cannon to giue the King a signe of his being there, and to trouble the minde of the Moore, while he was in fight; but he resolued not any thing, detaineed by his blinde commission, and the aduise of some other Capteines. The armie being broken, he receiuied letters from *Peter de Mesquita*, gouernour of Arzille; and withall, newes of the successe, in part false, writing vnto him that he shoulde returne with the armie to Arzille, and that King *Sebastian* came thither to imbarke. And although this letter did not easilie moue him, doubting that *Mesquita*, demaunded the armie more for his owne assurance then otherwise; yet being certified of the Kings death, he ranne alongst the coast vnto Tanger: seeking to gather vp the remainder of the armie, and so after returne to Lisbone.

These thinges passed in Affrick, the news came (but without good assurance) to the Gouernours the fourteenth of August, which did so amaze them, that for a time they knewe not what to determine, yet they kept it secret, resoluing in the meane time to call the Cardinall

Cardinall *Henrie* ( who they saide ) succeeded directly to the crowne, he a little before not greatly pleasing nor agreeable to his Nephew, in a manner retired himselfe in the Abbey of Alcobassa, to whome with great dissimulation they sent father *George Serrano*, of the order of the Iesuits, to declare vnto him the successe, and to beseech him to come to Lisbone, to receiue the Scepter; although on the other part some reported that *Peter d'Alcasoua* had secretlie aduertised the Catholique King of all things, beginning to yeelde obedience, as to him whom he did foresee woulde be future Lorde of the Realme, if this were not a practise of his enimies to make him more suspect vnto the Cardinall *Henrie*: generally through the Realme they knewe nothing of assurance, for all passengers were staied by order from the Gouernours; all letters that came from forraigne parts were taken, giuing the people to vnderstande a thousand fables, doubting perchaunce, that if the people knewe themselues to be without a King, they woulde attempt something. The Citie of Lisbone, as also all the rest, were in great garboile, vnderstanding that there was a Carrier come with such newes, as had greatly altered the Gouernours, not knowing what it was, seeing the Councell daily assembled, the letters retained, to vnderstande that they had sent both into Castill, and to the Cardinall, to heare that both the Christians and the Moores campes were approched, helde the whole Realme in feare of some ruine. There was none in Lisbone but had some interest in this warre, who so had not his sonne there, had his father; the one her husbande, the other her brother; the traders and handie-crafts men who had not their kinsmen there ( and yet many of them had ) did venture their wealth in it, some of them for the desire of gaine, and others for that they could not call in that which they had lent to Gentlemen, and souldiers: by reason whereof all were in heauines, euerie one seemed to foretell the losse of such friends, and goods he had in Affrick: and although they stooode yet doubtfull, yet might you vnderstand their secret sighes.

The Catholique King, aduertised of the successe of Affrick, and *A message sent to the Cardinal* of that which was treated in Portugall, sent thither presently *Christopher de Mora*, a Portugall; at that time a Gentleman sewer, one of *Henrie by the Catholique king*. those which went into Castil with the Princesse mother of *Sebastian*:

He

He carried with him two Comissions : the one was to visite *Henrie*, and to let him vnderstande the King woulde presently sende to him another personage for the ful perfournance of that office: The other was to sounde the harts of the Portugals, for the which hee was thought best able, being there borne, and well vnderstanding the state of the Realme. They gaue him not the title of an Embassadour, for that being doubtfull of the life or death of *John de Sylua*, (who was in Affrick with that charge) the King woulde not yet appoint any other. *Mule Hamet*, before his going to Maroc, desirous to make the Catholique King his friend, sent to that effect, to present him the same peace, that had beene betwixt *Moluc* and him, offering him in gift the bodie of King *Sebastian*, which he helde prisoner. This Embassadour being arriued in the Court of Castill, the King heard it willingly, and although he accepted the deliuerie of his Embassage, yet woulde he not receiue the Kings bodie, but appointed it shoulde be consigned to the Portugals, and therefore *Andrew Gasper Corse*, in the name of the saide Cheriffe, did consigne it by publike act, to the gouernour of Ceuta, for the Catholique King: who at the same time (to requite the Moores bountie) sent *Peter Venegas* of Cordube for his Agent into Affrick, with a present of stones, valued at a hundred thousand duckats, as well to continue the treaties of peace, as to demaund the Duke of Barcellos, the which he graunted, and sent him after free to the frontiers. In this time the Cardinall came to Lisbone, at whose arriuall they published this heauie newes, so as this inward and generall sorrow, which was suppressed by the vncertaintie of the report, encreased and burst foorth into teares, and lamentations : I cannot well describe the generall sorrow, how all things were filled with sighes, how euerie man was ouerladen with mourning : It was a pitifull thing to heare the women (whereof the most noble in their houses) from whence you might heare the noise, and the rest in the streetes, powring foorth their cries and teares vnto heauen, the which they redoubled so often, as the newes was confirmed by any newe aduertisement : And as it often happens that mindes supprest doe often-times turne to superstition, so they and likewise many men did not beleue what was saide; but hoping beyond all hope, and trusting more then they shoulde (although it were verified vnto them that their

*An embas-  
sage from  
Hamet to  
the Catho-  
lique king.*

*The Portu-  
gals sorrow.*

their husbands and kinsfolkes were dead, yet woldde they haue them still living,) and deceived by sorcerers and witches, but most of all by their owne desires, remained long without their widdowes habite, expecting in vaine newes of him which was passed into an other life. Many men complained, and some cursed the King, and such as suffered him to goe into Affrick, one blaines the King himselfe, an other his favorites, some the Cardinal, and some the Chamber of Lisbone, who had not hindred so foolish a resolucion; some did see that Portugall was neare her last period, and with their own misericordia lamented their countries. The Gouernours yeelded their government to the Cardinal, who by the Nobles and Magistrates was sworne Gouvernour and future successor to King Sebastian;

Cardinall  
Henrie  
sworne King  
of Portugal.

The which was done to quiet the people, expecting a better confirmation of this newes from Affrick, whiche staied not long but was verifid from all partes. And therefore they resolued to finishe the ceremonie which they haue accustomed in bewailing their King dead, and to breake their Scutchions, which was this: There parted from the Magistrates house, a Citizen on horsebacke, couered himselfe and his Horse all in blacke, with a great Ensigne in his hande likewise of blacke, bearing it vpon his shoulder that it might traile on the grounde: After him followed three olde men on foote in mourning weedes, with three scutchions in their hands, like bucklers or targets, bearing them high vpon their heade, without any figure of them, but all blacke: Then followed some Citizens of the same Magistrates, and other inferiours in great numbers: All these went through the principall streete of Lisbone, and coming to the steps of the Cathedrall Church, which is neare to the place from whence they parted; those which holde the scutchions, mount vp certaine degrees, and one amongst them lifting vp his target, cries with a loude voice, People of Lisbone, lament your King Sebastian, who is dead: Then all the people weepes and cries: Hauing ended his words, he breakes his Scutchion as a fraile thing, striking it on the place where he standes: Then proccede they on, and being come to the newe streete, ascending the staires of the little Church of our Ladie of Oliuera, another of them which carries the Scutchions, pronounceeth the same wordes the former had done, and breakes his Scutchion in the same manner: The like is done

The cere-  
monie of  
the Por-  
tugals in be-  
wailing their  
King dead.

done by the thirde, vpon the staires of the Hospitall: So as all the three Scutchions were broken in these three places, and then they returne from whence they came. At this time Christopher d' Mora arriued at Lisbone, who desirous to deliuer his Embassage from the King vnto the Cardinall, was not permitted; for *Henrie* (I know not the reason) would giue him no audience, before he was sworne King: Therefore they made haste to performe ordinarie ceremonies, which done, the King did heare him louingly, and he remained in the Realme, executing the charge his master had inioyned him: The forme of the oath was done in this manner: The xxv. of August the Hospitall Church of all Saints was hanged with tapestry of silke, in the which they erected a little scaffold, on the which they placed a seate of cloth of golde; thither came the King in the morning, in the habite of a Cardinall; going from the pallace there marched before him eight Attabales, or drums on horsebacke, after the Moresco manner, and nine Haroldes all on horsebacke, carrying vpon their cloakes their coates of Armes: after followed on foote, almost all the officers of the Courte, those of the Chamber, and other Magistrates; behinde them was the Duke of Bragance on horsebacke bare headed, bearing in his hande a sworde, with a scabberd of golde as Constable: a little after came the Cardinall vpon a Mule, the which *Aluaro de Silua* Counte of Portalegre Lord Steward of his houshold, ledde by the reines; there followed after many Noblemen and Gentlemen on horsebacke, with much people on foote: The Cardinall inuironed with a great multitude ascends the staires of the hospitall, being entered the Church, having heard Seruice, and ended his priayers, he seates himselfe in the chaire prepared on the scaffolle, where presently *Frauncis de Sala* (one of those that had bin gouernours) put the Scepter in his hand, and *Michell de Mora* Secretarie, standing a little off, said, (reading it with a loude voice,) that King *Henrie*, by the death of King *Sebastien*, did succeede in the Realme, and therefore they had deliuered him the Scepter, and that he was come to take the accustomed oath, to maintaine and obserue vnto his people, and to any other all liberties, priuiledges, and conuentions, graunted by his predecessor: which done, the Secretarie kneeling before him with an open booke, the King laide his hande thereon, swearing so to do: then

*The cere-monies of  
the Por-tugals in swear-ing their  
King.*

then did the Attabales sounde, euery man crying Reale Reale, for Henry King of Portugall: this done he riseth, & with the same companie holding alwaies the Scepter in hande, he returned to the pallace, the Attabales sounding, and the Herolds crying from time to time as before.

## THE THIRDE BOOKE.

The Contents of the third Booke.

*The descent of the Kings of Portugall; The pretendants to the succession; The resolutions of King Henrie; And the peoples demaunds; The voyage of the Duke of Ossuna into Portugall, and other Embassadors from the Catholique King; The imprisonment of the Duke of Alua: The Catholique Kings letters to them of Lisbone: The States of Portugall: The grounds of the pretendants to the succession; The sentence of Henry against Anthony Prior of Crato, vpon his legitimation by vertue of the Popes Briefe: The reasons of the Catholique King to the Realme against enerie one of the pretendants: The preparatiues to warre of the Catholique King against the Realme of Portugall; The suspension of the briefe; The second sentence of Henry against Anthonie; The alteration of King Henry his will concerning the succession; And the Popes offers to the Catholique king.*

Most



Ostmen from all the noted parts of the worlde, had their mindes and iudgements turned vpon Portugall; both for that hitherto the affaires of *Sebastian* were worthie attention, astro *see nowe Henry* come to the Crowne, who was olde and without successour; which made all Princes doubt that the succession of this Realme might trouble the publike quiet: for the Pretendants were diuers, their actions differing, all allied, and all with groundes: And although their forces were vnequall, yet were they made equal by certaine respects: But to the ende we may the better vnderstand the groundes of euery one of the pretendants, I will make a litle digression to report briefly the descent of these Kings. And although from the first vnto *Henry* there raigned seauenteene, yet doe I not thinke it necessarie to take their beginning but frō *Emanuel* forward who was the fourteenth, of Portugall. who began his raigne in the yeere of our Lord 1495. for that of his onely progenie is issud the number of Princes that pretended to the Crowne. This man had three wiues: of the first which was *Isabell*, daughter to *Ferdinand* King of Castill, widow to *Alphonse*, sonne to *John* the second of Portugall, he had no other children, (for she died in childbed) but *Michael*, whodied in the cradle, who had beene (as they say) the pillar and corner stome to vnite it and Spaine togither: But by his death the Portugals lost the kingdomes of Castill and Arragon, whereof *Emanuel* and *Isabell* his wife were sworne Princes; the issue male of the bloud roiall, being extinct in Castill. His second wife (which was *Marie* sister to *Isabell*, third daughter of the saide *Ferdinand*) brought him many children, v<sup>r</sup> sixe sonnes; and two daughters, *Isabel* was married to *Charles* the fifth Emperour; *Beatrice* to *Charles* the thirde Duke of Sauoy; *John* did inherite the kingdome; *Lewes* died without marrying, leauing behinde him *Anthony* his bastard sonne, he (who as you shall heare anon) was the cause of great miserie to his countrey, by reason of his pretention to the Crowne: *Ferdinand* deceased without heires; so did *Alphons* who was Cardinal, called by the title of Saint *Blaise*; and *Henry* of the title of Saint \* *Quatre Coronez*, this outliued all the rest, and it is hee of whom we speake: *Edward* tooke to wife

\* Of fower  
Crownes.

*Isabell*

*Isabell* daughter to *Iaime Duke of Bragance*, by whome he had *Marie*, which afterwardes was married to *Alexander Farnese Prince of Parma*; and *Katherine*, at this present wife to *John of Bragance*; he had likewise a sonne, the which being borne after the death of his father (who liued but fower yeeres in matrimonie) was likewise called *Edward*. This is he who disfaououred by *Sebastian* died at Euora, in the yeere 1576. of his thirde wife, which was *Leonora* daughter to king *Philip* the first of Castill, archduke of Austria, who was after married to *Frauncis*, the first king of Fraunce; he had none but *Charles* who died yoong, and *Marie*, who being about sixe and fistie yeeres olde, died a maide at Lisbone, in the yeere 1578. But returning to *John*, the thirde sonne of the second wife, who succeeded *Emanuel* in the kingdome, he contracted marriage with *Katherine*, sister to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and had issue *Marie*, who after was the first wife of *Philip* the second king of Castill, now raigning, from whom issued *Charles*, who died yoong; the which if he had liued, without doubt had preceeded the Cardinall *Henry* in the succession of the crowne. The saide *John* and *Katherine* had many male children which died yoong, one onely outliued the rest, named *John*, who (as some say) died yoong with excessive loue of his wife, sister to the saide *Philip*, leauing her great with childe, and after deliuered of *Sebastian*, during his grandfathers life, who soone after passed to an other worlde, and this is that *Sebastian* which died in Affrick.

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*Edward*, brother to the saide *Isabell*. And forasmuch as the Duke is  
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*The pretensions to the  
Crown of  
Portugall.*

*The King  
of Spaine.*

*The Duke  
of Bra-  
gance.*

*The Prince  
of Parma.*

*Anthoine  
Prior of  
Crato.*

*The Duke  
of Sanoy.*

*The people  
of Portingall.*

*The  
Queene  
mother of  
Fraunce.*

halfe in possession. *Alexander Prince of Parma*, sonne to *Octavius Farnesse*, did pretend it for his eldest son *Rhainucius*, as male, issued from *Marie*, the eldest daughter of the saide *Edward*, sister to the saide *Katherine*. And although his territories were farre off, yet besides that some supposed the Church shoulde fauour him, it seemed the Portugals woulde be pleased to haue a yoong king, whom they might breed vp after their owne manner. But *Anthony Prior of Crato*, sonne of *Lewes*, who was brother to the saide *Henrie*, sought the Crowne, but with more vehemencie, saying, he was legitimate, and no bastard, as it was supposed. And although he were without lands, and disgraced by *Henry*, yet being fauoured by the people, he supposed that *Henry* dying, he shoulde in despight of all the rest be crowned. *Emanuel Philibert Duke of Sauoy*, although sonne to *Beatrice*, yoongest sister to the Catholique Kings Mother, and yoonger then the saide King, did not yet leauue off his pretensions, but with greater modestie: And for that amongst the pretendants straungers, the Portugals were more inclined to him, then to anie other, it was supposed he woulde not let slippe the occasion: And this inclination proceeded from the opinion they had, that in regarde of the qualitie of his person, he shoulde be fitter then anie other to defende them from their enimies, and if neede were, hee might vigorously resist *King Philip* if he shoulde stirre, both by reason of his valour, and for the meanes he had to molest him in his Duchie of Millaine, ioyning vnto Piedmont, vsing chiefly the alliance and neighbourhooode he had with Fraunce. The peoples pretention was not vnconsidered, for that the issue male of their Kings failing, they pretended the election to belong to them: they grounded it, that women did never succeed, but in an interreigne, a woman was excluded; and *John* the first, the tenth king of this Realme, chosen by the people: It seemed that this pretention shoulde not onely be contrarie to all pretendant straungers, but also might breed a diuision within the Realme. *Katherine of Medecy* (widdowc to *Henry* the second King of Fraunce) did likewise pretende, saying that she was before all others, by an action fetched a farre off, but fortified with liuely reasons by her Embassadors. The ground was, That when as *Sanches* the second raigned in Portugall, whom they called *Cappello* of the habite which he did vse, *Alphons* his brother married

married with *Matilda* then Countesse of Bulloigne in Picardie: And that after by the weakenes of *Sanches*, the people with the consent of Pope *Honorius* the thirde, then raigning, called in *Alphonse* to be as tutor and gouernour of the Realme ( a testimony of the auncient Religion of this nation ) who euen in temporall matters did flie vnto the Pope: And although at his cōming he did but usurpe, yet soone after the King dying without heires, the Earle did lawfully inherite the Crowne; hauing had before by his French wife some children, who vnderstanding her husband to be King, and not to returne any more to Bulloigne, hauing prepared certaine shippes she went to him into Portugall: But for that *Alphonse* being now King did treat a marriage in Castill, to haue the Kingdome of Algarues in dower, as he after had, without the consent of the Pope, she was neither seene nor received by him: So as all the other Portugall Kings which haue succeeded, haue drawen their originall from this *Alphonse*, and the children of his *Castillian* wife: The Queenes Embassadours said, That all the Kings which had succeeded him, and his children, had ( as Bastards ) vniustly inherited, and that the kingdome ought to returne by direct line, to the heires of the lawfull children of the said *Alphonse*, and the Countesse of Bulloigne, whom they said to be Queene *Katherine* of Medicy, mother to King *Henry* the third, daughter to *Lawrence* of Medicy, and of *Magdalene* of Bulloigne, the onely remainder in direct line of that house, and heire to that County; the which although shē did not then possesse, being incorporate by the Kings of Fraunce, as a matter of importance, seated vpon the limits of Flaunders and Eng-  
The Pope  
pretends the  
election.  
land, yet they gaue vnto the Queene in recompence the Earledom of Lorangueil which shē now inioyeth. They did likewise affirme (but with small reason) that the Pope did pretend, alleadging that the Realme was not onely the spoile of the Cardinall, but when as *Alphonse*, who was the second Earle of Portugall obtained of the church the Title of a King, hee bound himselfe to pay certaine markes of gold for a Tribute. But heereof they made small reckoning. These pretensions did much afflict the mindes of Princes, and made the people feare some broyles, vnderstanding that both the Queene of England was displeased against the Catholike King for the affaires of Ireland, and that the King of Fraunce, and the

Turke, were not contented to see King Philip become so mighty, conquering a kingdome of so great importance: On the other side, Philip would not indure that any other but himselfe should become Lord, for the neighbourhood of their countries, supposing the least inconuenience that could happen, was the ciuill warre betwixt the Duke of Bragrance and the Prior.

*The delibe-  
rations of  
King Henry  
at his com-  
ming to the  
Crown.*

But returning to the Cardinall Henrie, being seated in the roiall throne, although he were of 67 yeeres of age, and not healthful, yet he looked about him, and (as it were determined from aboue, that Portugall should fall by degrees to his declining) hee did not prouide for the state, according to the opinion that was conceiuied of him: but the Realme by reason of their miseries passed, remayning as a bodie emptie and afflicted, which needed a wise Phisition to restore it. But as one mischiefe comes not alone, the new King did more torment it; for although many supposed, that hee being olde, a priest, and of an exemplarie life, hee should lay all passions aside, and be more carefull to settle the state of the common wealth, „ then he had found it, yet notwithstanding he could not temper himselfe with such disposition as was fit for his yeeres and degree: But „ as it often happens to such as haue beene oppressed, who comming „ to rule, seeke reuenge of their enimies, euen so did he (not imitating „ the example of Lewis the 12. King of Fraunce, who disdained to re- „ quite the wrongs done him being Duke of Orlance) hee resolued to reuenge the iniuries done him being Cardinal, if they may be wel termed iniuries, when as Princes be not respected of their inferiors as they ought: For being not greatly fauoured by the King his predecessor, the ministers and fauorites of his nephewe did not respect him as was fit, not conceiuing (being so old and Sebastian so yoong) that euer he should haue attained to the Crown: By reason whereof he depriued almost all the officers of the court, and some of them that did mannage the Kings Treasure of their offices, and aduanced his owne seruants. The first on whom he discharged the heat of his choler was Peter d' Alcasouna, for that he did detest him from the time he was Secretorie, and he Gouvernor of the Realme, during the nonage of Sebastian: as also for that he thought to haue reason to punish him, hauing beene an actor in these warres, and seconded the Kings will, and as one of his Chamberlaines had had the greatest charge

*Peter d' Al-  
casouna in  
disgrace  
with King  
Henry.*

charge to make the preparatiues for the war , hee did suspend him from all his offices , and proceeded against him by way of Iustice : And although all his faults were restrained to this , onely to haue counselled , or at least not dissuaded the king from the warre of Affricke , yet his processe being verified , he suffered condemnation by the Judges , to loose all his offices , priuiledges , and recompences , which had beene giuen him in the end of *Sebastians* life . It preuailed not for his iustification , to alleage , that if the Cardinall himselfe did not perswade the enterprise , yet at the least he did consent vnto it , and approoue it , which fault was greater in him , then in any other , that his perswasions shoulde be of more importance with the king , then all mens , seeing that for the preheminence of his place he alone might speake cleerely , and force him , which others could not doe , fearing as subiects ( and with reason ) the indignation of a yoong king ; the which (they say) he ought not to haue feared , both for his qualitie and his age , which should neither yeeld to feare nor hope . He tooke the same course against *Lewes de Silua* , and many others that came out of Affrick , whereby it was apparent the King knew not absolutely how to vse clemencie , nor wrath : for neither did he pardon as a man of the Church , nor reuenge as a displeased Prince . This bredde an alteration in all the affaires of the Realme , neither was it sufficient that such as were aduanced to these newe offices , were men without experience , who by their ignorance did mightily trouble such as did treat with them , but for that we easily encline to the woorst , some of them vnder colour to seeme affectio- nate seruants to their king , not onely prouided for that which pas- sed their charge , but examined the actions of their predecessors ; finding therein a thousand cauils , and preferring the appearance of the kings profite , before iustice , they disannulled conuentions and lawes , to the great trouble and damage of many , and small honour to themselues , and then did they seeme to doe best iustice , when they did molest most , such as *Sebastian* had fauoured , and wrought quite contrarie to that which had beene formerly done : Notwith- standing , if any thing were done by them that was absolutely good , it was the disannulling of the impost of salt , which *Sebastian* had im- posed .

Whilst these things passed in Portugall , the Catholique King

*Sebasti-  
ans obse-  
ques at  
Madrill.*

hauing sent Christopher de Mora thither, & Peter de Venegas into Af-  
frick, he perfourmed the funerals of Sebastian, in the Church of  
Saint Jerome at Madrill, although it was secretly muttered that the  
Duke of Alua shoulde say, the King shoulde haue perfourmed it in  
Portugall, in our Ladies Church of Belem, where the other Kings  
are accustomed to be interred, inferring it may be, that Philip was  
successour to Sebastian, or at the least shoulde assure himselfe by  
force of the succession after Henry, causing himselfe to be sworne  
Prince. The report of the Dukes words, did greatly mooue Ferrant  
de Silua, Embassadour for Portugall, and all the Portugals, being a  
speech that did pearce their harts, proceeding from a person whom  
they helde enimie to their nation, for the olde grudges betwixt him  
and Rui gomes de Silua, a naturall Portugall, in great credite with  
Philip; besides that, being a principall man of account, they feared  
least he spake it with participation of the Kinges minde, and tooke  
it as a declaration of his meaning. In this time they spake diuersly  
of these affaires: For although amongst the Castillians, the Duke  
himselfe, and one or two other principall persons, had this considera-  
tion, yet in generall they did not beleue it, neither had they con-  
sidered that Philip shoulde inherite this Realme, but they supposed  
it did of right appertaine to the sonne of the Duke of Parma. But  
the Portugals (who had better considered thereof, and whose lawes  
were more in fauour of Philip then those of Castill) were amongst  
themselues better resolued: neither was the Catholique King long  
vnsatisfied; hauing both in his owne Countries, in Portugall and  
other places caused learned men diligently to examine who was by  
right & equitie the true successour of this Realme, he began now to  
conceive that after Henry the succession appertained vnto him-  
selfe: And nowe he founde, that it was not onely the generall opini-  
on of the Doctors, but some amongst them, yea of the Portugals  
theselues, did maintaine that the King did preceade the Cardinal,  
and that these Realmes did appertaine to the Crowne of Castill.  
They alleged (but with the authoritie of fewe Doctors) that the  
lawes of Portugall, and the Ciuell likewise, ordaine, that in case of  
Realmes, the inheritance shall goe to the neerest kinsemens of the  
last possessour, prouided alwaies, that he be issud from the same  
stocke: That Sebastian being the last, the Catholique King was the  
neerest

*The discord  
that fell out  
for that one  
said Philip  
did preceade  
Henry.*

nearest kinsman he had, and of the same race; for besides that he was the eldest of the Nephewes of King *Emanuel*, he was brother to the Kings mother deceased, and preceeded the Cardinall a degree, being brother to his grandfather. They did likewise renewe the auncient pretencion of the Castillians, saying, that by right the Realme appertained vnto them, for that King *Alphonse* the sixth, coulde not by generall consent, nor with any reason disunite it from the Crowne; neither *Alphonse* the tenth giue the Algarues to his daughter in dowry, nor free it of the tribute whereunto it was bounde. And although this last pretention to preceade *Henry*, seemed to the King and his ministers of force, yet he resolued onely to follow the first, and to succeede the Cardinall, for desiring to enjoy the Realme with peace, *Henry* being already proclaimed king with the consent of the people, he supposed he coulde not without offence, or without forces take possession thereof: besides the respect he bare vnto his vnkle, and the hope of his short life. Heere may be noted the hazard(if we may so tearing it)whereunto the King (if he had interest by his affinitie) did thrust his heires, by the concealing of his right, fearing to offend that nation. For besides that during the life of *Henry*, the Portugals shoulde haue leisure to prepare against him, if they were not disposed to yeelde to his subiection, and if he shoulde die before the Cardinall, his successors were excluded from this great inheritance, and *Emanuel Phillibert* Duke of Sauoy did preceade all the rest.

While these things were consulting in Castill, the King of Portugall somewhat settled in his Throne, and the heate of his first inclination tempered, all the States of the Realme entreated him to prouide, that before his death a successor were declared, that after his decease they might not liue in suspence: And therefore the Magistrate of the Chamber of Lisbone, being superior to all others of the Realme, made great instance vpon this point, and one day all the officers being assembled, they went to courte, where one of them in the name of the rest spake thus vnto the King; Your „  
Highnes shall vnderstande, with how great desire and affection his  
people of Lisbone, beseecheth the Lorde to graunt him a long life, *The demands of the people of Portugall.*  
for thereon depends all our good, hoping that in time it may alter many things which nowe holdeth vs in carefull consideration: »

The

» The wounde of afflictions, which this Realme hath suffered, is yet  
» so greene and so lamentable, as we will not at this present make  
» mention thereof; It sufficeth they are such, as the memorie will  
» neuer be extinct whilst the worlde continueth: and although we  
» be bound to lay the fault vpon our owne offences, yet may we at-  
» tribute a parte to the negligence of the people, and of such as at  
» that time did gouerne the common wealth: But being expedient  
» not to heape error vpon error, it seemes we ought with a liuely  
» voice, and due humilitie, cry vnto your highnes, that (as a iust and  
» holy king,) you woulde preuent the miseries that hang ouer vs: It  
» cannot enter into our thoughts to mooue you to marriage, being  
» no iudges of your conscience, and disposition; but we may well say,  
» if these two cōsiderations do allow it, why do you suffer the delay of  
» one day? If you be resolued not to marry, your Highnes ought with  
» the like care to say vnto such as pretend to the succession, that with-  
» in a time prefixed they shoulde come to deliuer their reasons; that  
» if the successor be a naturall borne, the people shal haue some brea-  
» thing from the afflictions they suffer; if he shall be a stranger, it  
» seemes conuenient they shoulde know it, and haue leisure to aduise  
» what to do: For if our sinnes permit that the Lorde shall call away  
» your Highnes, being in the state we are now, what shall become of  
» vs? being most apparant that all such as pretend to haue any title,  
» do consult, arme, plot, and measure their forces, while the people re-  
» maines doubtfull, not knowing with reason vnto what part to in-  
» cline: Your Highnes dying in this time before the deciding of the  
» cause, we beseech you to cōsider the oppressions they shal suffer, the  
» spoilings, the murthers, the dishonoring of women and holy things,  
» and all other excesse, which is commonly practised in such times,  
» the which may be wholie auoided, by knowing who shall succeede  
» vnto the crowne. We do solicite your Highnes to sweare a Prince,  
» (for it may be, he that at this present hath interest to this Realme,  
» God may call him before your Highnes) but the contrary hapning  
» we may plainly knowe who shall succeed, for heerein consistes the  
» quiet of this Realme: if you do it not willingly, or that there be any  
» let, you ought to consent that the people declare one, especially  
» they of the citie of Lisbonc, vpon whom all Portugall dependes:  
» The holie Ghost, who is the guide of kings, inspire your Highnes,

that

that by his merits, the anger of God may be pacified, the which he „  
powreth downe vpon vs for our offences, and grant that we may „  
amend our liues, and preserue your Highnes in health, for which „  
all his people prae. In this manner the officer of the Chamber „  
spake in vaine, but forasmuch as it seemed vnto the king ( ouer ruled  
in this respect by the diuine power ) that the remedie was not so  
easie, nor the matter so soone decided, as they supposed; he made  
answere, that it was a care grauen in his hart, the which he woulde  
effect with all possible speede, resoluing to haue regard vnto it.

But this succession gaue greater cause both to thinke, & talke se-  
cretlie, and openlie in Castill then in anie other place; for the King  
resoluing by all possible meanes to vnite Portugall, with his other  
Kingdomes, the Nobilitie did not willingly entertaine it, but did  
seeme that the greatest from *Charles* the fift forwards, had not  
tasted the greatnes of the King, lesse respecting them, then had  
done the auncient Kings of Castill, making them march in one  
degree of equall iustice with their inferiours. The other Gen-  
tlemen and common people were nothing enclined to this vni-  
on: Saying, that if this Realme were not separated from the rest  
of Spaine, they shoulde haue no meanes to marrie their Kings  
daughters, but into other prouinces, which were dangerous both  
for that the women did ~~not~~ inherite, and for the heresies where-  
with the northren Regions bee at this present infected: Manie  
and of all qualities, ( who holding Portugall as the Sanctuarie of  
Castill ) were content with the separation, remaining as an assu-  
red retreate for offenders. It seemed to the King that hee shoulde  
not onely send a sufficient man thither to performe that office, but  
also that it was necessarie, that one of the chiese of Spaine, and best  
acquainted with the affaires of State, shoulde goe to propound the  
cause of succession: For this occasion they named as it is said *Gasper*  
*Quiroga*, Cardinall and Archbishop of Toledo: *Ferdinand Aluares*  
of Toled, Duke of Alua; *Anthony* of Toledo, Prior of the order  
of Saint Johns, master of the Kings Horse; *Frauncis Pacheco* Cardi-  
nall of Burgos, all principall personages: *Quiroga* was thought verie  
fit by reason of his dignitie and wisedome, togither with the ex-  
perience he had gotten in the court of Rome, hauing beene there  
long Auditor of the Rota: The Duke of Alua for his authoritie, ex-  
perience,

*Concell up-*  
*on the Em-*  
*bassage the*  
*King sent to*  
*Henry.*

perience, and wisedome, was thought the better, for beginning to feare they shoulde come to armes, it seemed that he best could treate of the succession, and withall sounde the Portugals forces, and what succours they might drawe vnto them, and afterwardes if neede required, being a great captaine, coulde by his aduise vndertake the warre with greater assurance. Manie did approoue *Anthony of Toledo*, for besides the opinion, they had of his wisedome, he was accounted godly, religious, and otherwise vertuous, the which they supposed woulde make him more pleasing vnto *Henry*. But in the iudgement of the most aduised, they preferred the Cardinall of Burgos, for besides those other good parts which he enioied with the rest, he was thought most able to treate the matter of State; besides that, being a priest, and a Cardinall, they shoulde seeme to sende vnto *Henry* a companion. But notwithstanding, there was not in Spaine any greater personages of like experience vnto these, to mannage a matter of so great importance, being the greatest that euer was presented vnto this crowne; yet the preferred *Peter Girone Duke of Ossuna*; and although his qualitie (being great among the greatest of the Realme) was woorthie of anie charge, accompanied with manie vertues, and some other particularities, that were necessarie for the voyage; notwithstanding, some did attribute this election to the ordinarie diseases of the court, and to the respects which Kings Councels doe commonly vse, inferring thereby that thererin he was extraordinarily fauoured by *Peter Fassardo, Marques de los Veles* his kinsman, at that time faubured by the king. Some said also (and it may be not without grounde) that it was not conuenient to sende anie personage into Portugall, whose wisedome, and judgement were knowne vnto the worlde, to the ende the Portugals shoulde not feare to treate freely with him of all matters, but it was necessarie they shoulde esteeme him affable and curteous, to discouer easilie vnto him their minds; of which humour the rest were not. And although on the one side the Cardinals did seeme fittest to treate with a king, who was also a Cardinall; they did think on the other side that *Henry* might take it ill, to sende one vnto him, who was equall with him in dignitie. There hapned at the same time a matter which bred no small woonder in this court, and in others likewise, the which for that it chaunced to a person of whom

*The Duke  
of Ossuna  
sent to Hen-  
rie.*

*The impris-  
onment of  
the Duke  
of Alua, and  
the cause.*

we

we are often to make mention, although it be somewhat from our purpose, we will not leue to report. The Duke of Alua was banished by the kings commandement, to Vzeda, ffeue and twentie miles from the court, for that *Fredericke* his eldest sonne, being taken at Tordefillas, a village of that Realme, for that he refused to marrie with one of Queene *Isabella* of Valoys her maides, to whom (as the said) he had promised, whilst the king was entreated by her friends, to force him to marrie her, he by the aduise of his father, brake prison, and was gone to Alua, to marrie with *Marie de Toledo* his cosen, daughter vnto *Garcie*, he which was Generall at sea, the which hee effected, returning presently vnto the same prison. The Duke bare this affliction with great humilitie and constancie, so as all hatred ceasing, his verie enemies did pittie his miserie. This banishment was remardeable, both for his estate, age, and the notable seruices he had done vnto this crowne, as also to see the integritie of the king, who notwithstanding the necessitie he seemed to haue of his person in matters of importance, that drewe neere, could not cause him any thing to dissemble the execution of that which he thought fit for iustice, or his reputation: It was also remardeable for the great offices, which some Princes did in his fauour; but most of all his holines, who did instantly sollicite his deliuerie by the meanes of his *Nuncio*, saying, that although he coulde not presume of the kings iust intention, but that the Dukes imprisonment proceeded from some great cause, yet he coulde not in duty but performe this office: It was saide, this good will of the Pope towards the Duke, proceeded from the service hee had done vnto the Apostolique seate, hauing made long warre against the Infidels and heretikes, and also for that which he had done against the Church it selfe, effecting that which was conuenient to his king, whilst as enimie hee was contrarie vnto it, as he did defende it, being a friend, binding vnto him, not onely *Paule* the fourth, who was then Pope, but also his successors. And it seemes strange that the greatest loue they say the Church had vnto him, sproong from the warre which he made against it: The Deputies of Castill which were then in court, laboured for him, and although the king sent them worde they shoulde be contented, and not sue vnto him, for that he woulde not refuse anie thing they shoulde demaund, yet this manner of demaunding and

and denying serued for a great office. The King from the beginning, was in hope to make himselfe peaceable Lord of the Realme of Portugall, although he were not ignorant of the small inclination the Portugals had vnto him, but hee let passe nothing which he thought fit to gaine their loues; and to this effect he did write to all the chiefe cities of the Realme, his pretention, offering and threatening; but in the greatest part his letters were not receiued in publicke. To the citie of Lisbone, he did write in this manner: Most

*Philip's lett-  
ters to the  
cittie of Lis-  
bone.*

noble, and our welbeloued, although I haue appointed Christopher de Mora to saie vnto you some things, which you shall vnderstande from him, yet woulde I giue you to knowe by my letters, that there

„ is no man in this world (more then my selfe) that hath felte the losse  
 „ of noble king Sebastian my nephew, and of his men: The reasons  
 „ for which I ought to haue this iust feeling, are easie to be consider-  
 „ red, hauing lost a sonne, and a friend, whom I loued tenderly, and in  
 „ the same degree I held and hold all those that are lost with him, for  
 „ I doe cherish and loue all them of this Realme as my owne subiects:  
 „ And I thinke it is not vnknowne, the great diligence I vsed to diuert  
 „ his iourney, as well personally my selfe at Guadalupa, as also before  
 „ and since by my ministers, whereof many of the principall of this  
 „ Realme are good witnesses: But not to reuiue so great a griefe, let  
 „ vs lay apart the things which cannot be remedied, fixing our eies on  
 „ the true consolation, which is, that those afflictions were giuen by  
 „ the hande of God, and suffered by the greatnes of his prouidence:  
 „ we ought likewise particularly to comfort our selues, that in this  
 „ wretched and miserable age, this Realme hath gotten for their Go-  
 „ uernour so Christian and wise a Prince, as is the king mine vnkle,  
 „ whose rare vertues, and exemplarie life, giueth vs cause with reason,  
 „ to expect that he will settle the present affaires in so peaceable an  
 „ estate, that we shall proceede in all things with the mildenes and  
 „ gentlenes I wish, for the loue I beare to all, and singularly for the  
 „ degree of amitie, and affinitie, which hath alwaies beene betwixt  
 „ these two crownes, and betwixt my selfe and the Lords of the same  
 „ Realme, being all of one bloud, and my selfe and my children, ne-  
 „ phewes of noble king Emanuel, being nourished and brought vp  
 „ by the Empresse, and Ladie my Mother. For these causes and  
 „ considerations, I haue as great respect to the king mine vnkle, and

as great cause to wish him a long and happie life as your selues: But the affaires of the succession of this Realme, being in the estate you know; I haue with great consideration, and due aduise examined the right, which it hath pleased God by his secret iudgments to giue me: And causing this action to be viewed by men of great learning, and conscience, both within mine owne Realme, and without; all doe finde, that without doubt the succession thereof doth rightlie appertaine vnto me; and that there liues not any at this day that can with reason contradict me, by manie and cleere grounds, being a male, & the eldest, as it is apparently knowne. And hauing resolued to make this point knowne to the noble King mine vncle, with loue and due respect, I haue earnestly entreated him, that it would please him presently to declare it, as he is bounde, for the discharge of his conscience, and for the bond he hath to doe right and iustice; but most of al for that it concernes the preseruation, peace, rest, augmentation, and prosperitie of these Realmes, and of all the subiects thereof, the which hee ought both chiefly to care for, and to procure, seeing that besides the saide effects, it shall cause an other of greater importance, which is that which concerneth the seruice of God our Lord, & the assurance & encrease of our holy Catholike faith. I thought good to doe the like office to this citie, hauing regard vnto the fidelitie, whereof it hath alwaies made profession, & being the chief of these Realmes, assuring you therewithall, that he that shal inherite, is no forreine king, but a naturall borne, as I haue saide before, seeing that I am nephew and sonne to your naturall Princes, issued of the same bloude, and will be alwaies a father to euerie one of you, as you shall finde when it shall please God: But at this time I will entreate you, that with your wisedome, and great experience, you woulde consider and note wherein I may honour and fauour you, not onely to conserue your liberties, and priuiledges both in generall, and particular, desiring that all other cities of the Realme, shoulde vnderstande the same, whereof I praiе you to giue them notice, being requisite that euerie one shoulde know the loue and affection which I beare to all, and it shall be iust, that in knowing it, you conforme your selfe to that which is the will of God, whose iudgements and determinations no man may resist, but we ought to beleue that what he determines is for the best: So

» as trusting, that both this citie, and the rest, when time shall require,  
 » will doe that whereunto they are bound : I haue nothing to say, but  
 » that besides the feeling which I haue had of miseries past, I haue  
 » beeene in particular grieved for the losse of so great numbers of the  
 » Nobilitie and Commons of this Realme, whereof that battaile was  
 » the cause : And therefore I require you to aduise, what I may do for  
 » those that remaine yet slaues, and write vnto me : for although I  
 » both haue, and daily had that care, I haue thought fit and coueni-  
 » ent, yet shall I be glad to vnderstande your aduise, that all thinges  
 » conuenient might bee performed for their deliuerie, and rest as-  
 » sured that whatsoeuer shall concerne you, I will deale in it with the  
 » loue of a father, as you shall know more particularlie by the effects,  
 » when as occasion shall serue to make triall thereof, the which you  
 » shall vnderstande by *Christopher de Mora*, to whom I referre you.

The Catholique king sent this Letter by the saide *Mora*, to be deli-  
 uered to the Magistrate of the Chamber, who going for that intent  
 presented it vnto them : But being troubled, they doubted that in  
 receiuing thereof, they shoulde offend against the Crowne, so as  
 refusing it, they willed him to take it with him, and deliuere it to the  
 King, the which *Mora* denying, it remained still with them vnope-  
 ned : And least they shoulde be ignorant of the contents, he drewe  
 a copie out of his bosome, and read it vnto them publikely, di-  
 spersing sundrie copies throughout the citie. The originall was by  
 the Vereadures carried to the king : This did smally further *Philips*  
 affaires, but rather hinder him, and was by the wisest both of Spaine  
 and Portugall, and also by some of the Kings Counsell, helde as a  
 remedie not fitting the Portugals humour ; who generally hating  
 the Castillians, being newe and rude in this matter, it was not pro-  
 bable they shoulde yeelde vpon a simple Letter. At this time there  
 came intelligence, that he who had the charge of Embassadour of  
 Portugall, was not onely liuing in Alcazerquiuir ( although sore  
 hurt) but that the Cheriffe had released him, & was comming with  
 the bodie of King *Sebastian* to Ceuta, and from thence within fewe  
 daies (being at Christmas, in the yeere 1578) they vnderstode he  
 was arriued at Ciuill, his comming was (by the best acquainted with  
 the affaires of Portugall) held verie profitable, for returning to his  
 charge, he seemed more sufficient then anie other to treat of so  
 waightie

*The deline-  
 rance and  
 returne of  
 John de Sil-  
 na, Embassa-  
 dor for Phi-  
 lip in Portu-  
 gall.*

weightie a cause, being indued (besides his good iudgement) with many other good parts, necessarie for the manninging of such a busines. For besides that he had good experiance of King *Henrie* his disposition, and the humour of the Portugals, he was verie pleasing vnto them, it may be, for that he was of the house of *Sylua*, who being verie noble in Portugall, passed into Castill, during the controversies betwixt king *John* the first, and the master of the Auis, and being borne of a Portugall mother, they helde him for their countryman: Besides that, with the fauour of King *Sebastian*, he was married in Portugall with *Phillippa de Silua*, heire to *Aluaro de Silua*, Earle of Portalegra, Lord Steward of the Kings house, and one of the principall Noblemen of the Realme: But whilst that euerie man expected his present departure from Ciuell to Portugall, the King called him to Court, saying, that he woulde first instruct him by mouth, of his intentions, and of the present occurrents. In the meane time the Duke of Ossuna arriuied within the Realme, who seeming to be sent onely to performe complements with the king, he was lodged, and roiall entertained at the charge of the Court, where hauing deliuered his simple legation, he went to Settuall, to visite *Magdalen Girone*, his sister, widow to *George d' Alenastro*, Duke of Auero, but hee returned sodainly, making shewe he had newe commission to treate of the succession, wherewith king *Henrie* was greatly discontented, being vnwilling to haue the presence of a personage so qualified, on the behalfe of *Philip*, as it were a witnes of his actions, the which did likewise displease all the Portugals, the rather for that (with *Mora*) he began to solicite the King to declare *Philip* successour of the Realme, shewing vnto him formerly by many reasons that his title was iust.

*The Duke  
of Ossuna  
arrives in  
Portugall,  
and his pro-  
ceedings.*

Nowe did King *Henrie* at the great intreatie of his subiects resolute to set the best order he could touching the question of succession, and to content them: For this cause remaining greatly in suspence, hauing consulted the matter with fewe, but of his greatest fauorites, they concluded after much counsell, infinite opinions and many disputations, that it was not convenient at that time to declare any one Prince: The reason was, that the neerer heire vnto the Realme, they supposed to be the Catholique King, whom they hated most, and therefore sought by all meanes possible to flie his

commād, thinking nothing more fit to effect it, then to protract the nomination of the Prince, not meaning to specific any: For naming any other they shoulde procure his indignation against them, and giue him occasion or his heires that should succeed him, to attempt an action better grounded, whereas by delaying it, there should remaine vnto them (at the least) this weake hope, that the Catholique king (although yoonger, yet mortall) might die before olde King *Henry*, which hapning they shoulde be freed from the Castillians, and then shoulde succeed (as it is said) the Duke of Sauoy, of whom they had no such feare, but woulde more willingly yeeld to his sub-

*King Henry* iection. The King supposed that *Katherine Dutches of Bragance*, inclined to the pretence of the Duches of Bragance.

preceded all other pretenders, except the Catholique King, aided (as it may be) by his owne naturall inclination, he conuerted all his thoughts in her fauour, and ( if it were possible ) to giue her the crowne, writing to the vniversitie of Coimbra, many allegations in her behalfe: To effect this, it was thought necessarie to cite all the pretenders, to appeere and produce their reasons, the which was sodainly put in execution, although in the iudgement of many it was thought out of season, seeming more conuenient first to conclude it in parliament, and then to effect it, whereby it was apparant that the king did gouerne himselfe daily without order, or any constant resolution what he woulde doe: He did yet foresee, that dying before *Philip* as it was likely, the Realme shoulde remaine confused, and without a Gouernour which shoulde rule the Realme, during the interreigne, and that the Noblemen and Commons shoulde presently sweare obedience vnto them, and after examine the reasons of the pretenders. And although they feared that King *Philip* woulde be displeased, yet they hoped to satisfie him, promising it shoulde no way prejudice his title, nor any thing delay it, but onely to proceede with more grounde, as it was conuenient, giuing out, that King *Henrie* woulde marrie, and send to Rome for a dispensation, being a Priest, so as being capable of issue, it was not expedient to sweare a Prince: This matter being concluded amongst fewe, and of the chiefest, within fewe daies after ( least it should not seeme to be done in priuate, but with a general consent,) and to choose gouernours *Henrie* called to Court the three estates of the Realme, that is, the Clergie, the Nobilitie, and the Deputies of the cities,

and

and townes, the which assembled the first day of Aprill, in the yeere 1579. in the great hall of the pallace at Lisbone, the King hauing before him nine Herolds, accompanied with the Duke of Bragance, and many Noblemen, he went in the scarlet habite of a Cardinall, retaining nothing of a king but the scepter, being mounted vpon a scaffold of wood prepared at the vpper end of the hal, fower steps higher then the Deputies, he seated himselfe in a chaire prepared for him, couered with cloth of gold vnder a cloth of estate of the same: Euerie one being in his ranke according to their ancient degrees: *Alphonso de Castelbiano* a priest stood vp, (by the Kings commandement) at one of the endes of the scaffold, who with a long speech, after he had a little renewed the sorrowes of their forepassed miseries, and mittigated them with hope of a future good, hee forgot not to praise the King, with all vertues, adding, that being weake, he did not spare his life, employing it to what was profitable to the Realme; he compared him in his gouernment to the King of heauen, in his loue, iustice, pitty, and sacrificing himselfe for his people; he commended this assembly, resembling it to the Councels, and saide it coulde not erre: he concluded the king had there assembled them to propound what was conuenient for the Realme, & to prouide for it with their aduise. The first acte being ended, it was decreed, that daily the Clergie, the Nobilitie, and the Deputies of the Realme shoulde assemble a part, the which they effected, where they found diuersitie of opinions, and very different one from another: some of them ( friendes to the conclusion ) woulde sodainly haue it determined to whom the Crowne appertained, without hearing the pretendents allegations; others held the parties should be cited, and that they shoulde proceed with deliberation to sentence, after instruction of the processe; many inclined to haue governours; others would not heare speake of them, euery one taking the course neuer to agree. The king hearing of this, hauing called the chiefe of his Councell one after one, and acquainting them with his resolution, he shewed vnto them, that it was so conuenient for the libertie of the Realme, so as all difficulties accorded, they concluded not to make any election of a Prince at that instant, but the pretendents being heard, the King shoulde iudge to whom the Realme belonged, that he might be declared after his death: And

*The States  
of Portugall  
at Lisbone.*

*A sum-  
marie of the  
Oration  
made at the  
assembly of  
the estates.*

although God did suffer (it may be for a punishment to the Portugals) that the King held this Councell for the best, yet experience

*An Embas-  
sador chosen  
to goe to  
Rome, to ob-  
taine dispen-  
sation for  
Henrie to  
marrie.*

did shewe, that it was the woorst course they coulde haue taken, for to put the cause in processe, did breed vaine hopes in some of the pretenders, which after were cautes of great ruine to the crowne.

And to the end the motion of the kings mariage shoulde seeme to be spoken with some grounde, they named vnto the estates *Edward de Castelbianco* to goe to Rome, and treate with the Pope for his dispensation:

they did choose fifteene gentlemen vpon the backe of the rowle, whereof the King with his owne hand shoulde write fие of them, which so chosen, shoulde gouerne the Realme, vntill it were decided who shoulde be King. There was also about this nomination of the Gouernours, no small controuersie betwixt the King and his Councell of estates, for that the king would absolutely name the fие, the Councell woulde not consent vnto it, but they would do it:

And when they were agreed that the Councell shoulde name fifteene, and the King choose fие of them, there grew a newe discord among them; for the Councell desired to know who should be these fие; some woulde not onely haue them published, but also during the Kings life put in possession of the gouernment, that after they might be the better obeied: but notwithstanding, they resoluteed to keepe it secret, yet generally they coniecutured (and truely) who they were. They chose also fower and twentie Judges vpon the backe of the rowle, of these the King did name eleuen, to iudge the cause of the succession, if he shoulde not determine it before his death:

This was held, and chiefly by the Castillians a fault of importance, the king shewing himselfe to be ignorant, that his roiall iurisdiction did end with his life, and that this naming of Gouernours was to rule after his death, whereof they had an example with them, of *Elizabeth Queene of Castill*, who in vaine prescribed lawes for the gouernment of the Realme after her decease. In this sorte the States ended, and soone after the Duke of Bragance, with the Nobilitie, and the Deputies of the Realme, sware obedience to such as the king had chosen Gouernours, and to him that shoulde be declared king. It woulde not be forgotten the manner of oath the Prior tooke, for being called before the king, and commanded to sweare to obey the forme aforesaid, he answered that he woulde first speake

*The nomi-  
nation of 5.  
governors,  
of the judges  
of the suc-  
cession.*

*The oath to  
obey the  
elected Go-  
vernours.*

vnto him: The King replied, that there was no neede, but that he shoulde sweare, the which he refusing to doe, the king grewe in choler; whereupon casting his eies vpon his friendes, that were about him, as who shoulde say, that he was forced to lay his handes vpon the Euangelist, against the opinion of many, who beleueed he shoulde rather commit some disorder then sweare. The Rowle of the Gouernours with the nomination vpon the backe of it was locked vp in a coffer, and deliuered to the keeping of the Magistrate of the Chamber of Lisbone, the people whereof were male content, fearing it had beene giuen to the Castillians: The which was apparant, for that a little before there came boldly to the assembly of the Nobilitie, before the whole Councell, two mechanick officers, of those that representing the people, are imploied to the Magistrate of the citie. The one of them crauing audience, said, " they had vnderstoode, that some of the chiefe of that assemblie, " neglecting their dutie and honour, had spoken slanderously, and " wrought against the publike good, and suretie of the Realme, which " like good Portugals they resolued to preuent, as before the inhabitants of the same citie had done in the times of king John the first, and " of other kings: And therefore they required the whole Councell, " (as the chiefe and principall member of the common wealth) to aide " and support them, that they might not loose their honor and priuileges, thorough partialities and priuate respects: They saide also " that for this effect, and for the defence of iustice, and to chastice seditious Portugals, they were readie, with fifteene or twentie thousand men, betwixt the citie and the countie, which they woulde assemble if neede were, in two howres, to burne the houses of such as shoulde speake too boldly, or treate against the publike good and quiet of these Realmes, the which they would not put in execution, hoping to see them punished, and the matter redressed by some other course: He concluded, that he thought it their dutie to giue this aduertisement, that with more assurance, they might all treate of the common good, without feare of violence, or any prejudice, and to stop the mouthes of those, (who suspected in such a cause,) make all things impossible, without seeking or procuring of any remedie. Hauing ended this speech, one of the wiest of the assemblie made answer, that this counsell was acceptable, for the loue and affection

they

*The discontentments of  
the people of  
Lisbone.*

they had to the common good; but there was not any one amongst them which did not desire it with the like zeale, and therefore they should rest assured, that all things should be handled with good order & carefully: but notwithstanding this answere, they returned with threatening. This assembly discouered to the Catholique King, not onely the intention of the Portugals in these affaires, but also of King *Henrie* himselfe, for that it seemed vnto him, they rather held a forme of conspiracy against him, then a councell of the states. *Henry* encouraged by his followers, for a time intended to marrie, dayly consulting with his phisitions to see if he were apt for generation, which seemed strange to all such as had knownen him; for euerie man beleueed ( considering the chast life hee had alwaies led ) that although he had come yoonger vnto the Crowne, he would not haue taken any wife; and now talking of it being decrepit, of age, and a Priest, it seemed, the desire to exclude the Catholique King, from the Realme preuailed so much, that it did estrange him from his ancient disposition. But honors breed in men alteration of manners, although his age made men thinke his inclination was rather forced in him then voluntarie: Some of the wisest said that the Catholique King shoulde haue a special regard, least he were abused in this mariage; for although the age and disposition of the said *Henrie* might well assure him, yet the matter being of such importance, he should suspect some supposed or adulterate childe, or some such like deceit: But hauing ( possibly ) laboured at Rome that no dispence should be graunted to *Henrie*, he sent into Portugall Fryer Ferrant of Castillio, of the order of preaching Friers, and an eloquent divine, the cause of his voyage being vnkowne, I my selfe being vnable to search the secret: It was generally thought he went to dissuade the King from marriage, with many reasons, and especially saying, that in so dangerous a time by reason of the Heretickes which did raigne, when as Heretickes did tolerate marriage in men of the Church, if he now did it, being Priest and King, he should giue them a verie ill president; and this conceit of his going was confirmed to be true, hauing vnderstood he was neither willingly heard nor presently dispatched.

*Henrie de-  
fired to  
marrie.*

*The Catbo-  
lique King  
sends a laco-  
bin into Por-  
tugall.*

*The preden-  
dents to the  
Crown of  
Portugall,  
cited to de-  
clare their  
reasons.*

and especially saying, that in so dangerous a time by reason of the Heretickes which did raigne, when as Heretickes did tolerate marriage in men of the Church, if he now did it, being Priest and King, he should giue them a verie ill president; and this conceit of his going was confirmed to be true, hauing vnderstood he was neither willingly heard nor presently dispatched. The pretenders had beene cited, which were the Catholique King, the Dutchesse of Bragance, the Duke of Sauoy, the Prince of Parma, and *Anthonie* Prior of Crato

to

to send & shew their reasons. The Catholike King did not answere in forme, although *Henrie* had written vnto him with his owne hand, but onely sent a certificat with a Secretarie to his Ambassador in Portugall, that he had beene cited: Many disallowed this diligence, and all agreed that the King, causynge the Duke of Sauoy and the Pryor to be cited, had not dealt therein iudicably, saying, it was a meane to breed contention, the Prior being manifestly a bastard, and the Duke apparantly after King *Philip*.

Who being cited, framēd a new Councell of some of the Lords *Philip frames a councell of the affaires of Portugal.* of his Counsell of State, of his Confessor, one other Diuine, and fие Doctors of the Councell roiall, which he called the adioining of the succession of Portugall, they were twelue in number, and did onely treate of those things that did concerne that point. At this time *John de Silua* arriued at Madrill, from Ciuill, to be enformed of matters cōcerning his charge, who, althoough he were graciously receiued of the King, and did often enter into Councell, both to give his advise, and to take his instructions, yet did they delay his dispatch, sometimes with one excuse, and sometimes with an other: And although he did earnestly sollicite that he might enter into the mannaging of so great an action, as was the vniōn of this Realme, and after so many trauailes past, goe comfort his friendes with his presence, yet in this particular, he had either many crosses, or small good fortune. For being prisoner in Affrick (although it seemed to these Counsellors, that this charge ( as his ) shoulde not be otherwise disposed of, vntill they had certaine newes of his life or death:) yet notwithstanding it seemed, that both the Kings meaning, and the disposition of his ministers, were inclined to dispossesse him, not onely when he was present, but euen then when he had most reason to beleue it, for that the King, hauing alreadie discouered himselfe in secret matters to *Christopher de Mora*, woulde not peraduenture reueale them to any other, whereof they were apparent signes, some curriers comming out of Portugall directed to other ministers, then to those that did handle the matters of succession: Besides the Duke of Oſuna ( to whose will both the Cardinall Archibishop of Toledo, and other counsellors did conforme themselues) hauing entered into great familiaritie with *Mora*, recommending him to the King, laboured that no other should be sent to treat of this busines,

busines, seeming as it may be vnto him ( as some did suppose ) that he would not so easily agree with *Sylua*, being more haughtie : He answered to these obiections, offering not onely to agree with the Duke of Ossuna, and with all those that should be sent, but if it were not their pleasure he should deale with those causes of the succession, he would willingly desist and onely treat of that which did simply concerne the charge of an Ambassadour, and after retire himselfe if neede were : But this modestie made him more suspect, for thereby they might iudge he desired nothing more then once to haue an entrie, and after to make himselfe Patron of the whole cause. At that time *Christopher de Mora* was called to court, who treated secretly with the King of many things concerning the Realme, he laboured to be sent backe with the Title of Ambassador, yet many supposed his commission being ended, he should not returne : But being accounted, ( as he was indeed ) confident, iudicious, and diligent, although of no great experience in matters of waight, being made gentleman of the chamber, he was sent backe with the Title he desired, & to keepe *Sylua* from returning into Portugall, all his hopes being frustrate, they stayed him, saying it was conuenient the King should retaine him neere about him, to iudge the better of what should be written out of Portugall. And hauing reduced the number of twelve counsellors of the succession to fower, he commaunded he should be one, the rest being the Cardinall of Toledo, *Lewis Manriques Marques of Aguilar* both of the councell of State, and *Antonie of Padiglia*, President of the councell of militarie orders : The generall discourse concerning the election of the one for Ambassador, and the exclusion of the other was diuers, but when as the excluded could not preuaile ( according to the counterfeit shew of the court ) he tooke all for a fauour.

Whilst these things passed in Castil, the pretenders in Portugal both naturall borne and strangers called by citation, framed their reasons, and euerie man laboured to make the King capable of his right : The Duke of Ossuna pleaded for King Philip: *Charles de la Rouvere* for the Duke of Sauoy, *Farrant Farnese* Bishop of Parma for *Rainucus Fernese*. The Queene of Fraunce was not cited, yet did not she desist from her pretention, by the meanes of *Urban of Saint Gelais* Bishop of Cominges, who had some difficultie to be admitted.

*Christopher  
de Mora  
called a-  
gaine, and  
sent Ambas-  
sador into  
Portugall in  
steede of  
John de  
*Sylua*.*

admitted. The King seemed long doubtfull in this point; for on the one side with the inclination he had to the Dutchesse, he would exclude al others, & with the desire he had to frustrate Philip, he labored to admit all that did pretend: In this point hatred preuailed before affection: Enduring this infamous allegation of the Queen, who saide that *Henry*(of whom she demaunded iustice) and eleuen other Kings his predecessors, had beene all bastards, and vnlawfull, for that was her plea: And although he doubted of the Bishops procuration, after some difficulties, promising to satisfie him within a limited time by an other commission, he was receiued to plead, appointing him an aduocate in the cause. The principall groundes of the pleaders were these: *Anthonie* at the end of fiftie yeeres would be admitted for lawfull, hauing neuer before pretended it, and therfore vndoubtedly the succession of the Realme did appertaine vnto him, for that as a male issued from a male, he saide, with the qualitie of his father, he did surmount his age, wherein Philip did surpassee him: that being a male he was before the Dutchesse, and did vanquish *Rhanucius* by his age and neerenes. *Phillibert* Duke of Sauoy, did not wholie deceiue himselfe, for as he assisted not for any other ende, but to shewe that as the neerest of kinne he did preceade the Prince of Castill, in case that *Henry* outliued Philip he was least importune. They did pleade vehemently for *Ranucius Farnese*, and in his fauour, the Doctors of the Vniuersitie of Padua had written, and to confute the reasons of proximitie, wherein the other competitors did surmount, they alleaged that conformatable to pure and simple lawe, so many sonnes as Kings haue, so many heires of inheritance they do frame, whereof the first line doth inherite whilst it remaines, which being extinct; the seconde doth succeed it, and so consequently in order. That *Edward* the Grandfather by the Mothers side, of the saide *Ranucius*, was chiefe of the second race of the children of King *Emanuel*, whereof the first being vtterly extinct in *Sebastian*, the line of the second ought to succeed, vntill it were likewise extinct, where by descending from braunch to braunch, it came directly to the saide *Ranucius*. And although Philip and Phillipart were pretenders male, and lawfully issued from an elder feminine stocke, whilst there was remaining any heires descending from the elder feminine males (as he was) they coulde

*The grounds  
of the Prior.*

*Of the  
Duke of  
Sauoy.*

*Of the  
Duke of  
Parma.*

not

not inherite, and that the Dutchesse who was a woman, and *Anthony* vnlawfull, ought not to take it from him, although he succeeded them all. The Dutchesse with more liuely hope both of her iustice, and of the Kings fauour, had caused to be written in the Vniuersitie of Coimbra, a long & curious allegation, & the Doctors ( who are the learnedst of the Realme) hoping to please the King, handled the cause with all possible care : She laboured to prooue, that they succeed in Realmes by the inheritance of the last possessor, and that in this kinde of succession, the lawes allowe the benefite of representation : and in the difficultie which the Doctors mooue in the deciding, whether this priuiledge be allowable to the Nephewes, when they do not ioine with the Uncle, in the inheritance, they ought to follow those which holde the affirmatiue, and that the women doe not onely represent the degree of the predecessors, but also the sexe : She therefore representing *Edwarad* her Father, sonne to King *Emanuel*, and brother to king *Henrie*, woulde precead all the other pretenders, both the Catholique king, for that he issued from a daughter, *Anthony* being a bastard, *Ranucius* as being neerer vnto *Henry*, admitting neither degrees, elderhips, nor representations, alleging for that purpose infinite authorities of Doctors. These her allegations were imprinted, and sent to the Pope, and to all the Princes in Christendome, hoping thereby to make a great breach in their harts. The Catholique king saide he was the eldest, and lawfullest Nephew male of king *Emanuel* then living, and that not any one of the others, being not able to make them selues equall vnto him, they sought to helpe themselues with fixions and representations, the which he woulde prooue by some lawes, were not to be admitted in this case, nor amongst these persons, for that going before them all in general by age, he did surpassee them in particular one after an other. *Anthony* by legitimation ; the Dutchesse by sexe ; *Ranucius* by nearenes ; & the Duke of Sauoy by the age of *Isabell Augusta* his mother, elder then *Beatrice*, Mother to the saide Duke. The people alleage that the issue male of their Kings failing, in that case the election appertained to them ; fortifying this reason by the example of the election which was made of their King *John* the first : but of this pretention being generall, they made small account.

*The ground  
of the people.*

*The Queen  
Mother of  
Fraunce.*

*Of the Dut-  
chesse of  
Braganca.*

The Queene Mother of Fraunce, with a strange grounde, to the dishonour

dishonour of so many kings, woulde come by directe line to the succession of the Realme, offering to prooue by writing out of the auncient Registers of Fraunce, and by the auncient possession of the Earle of Bulloigne, that she was lineally descended from *Robert sonne to king Alphonso* the thirde, and of the Countesse *Matilda*, his first and lawfull wife, and that from that time to this, all the descendants of *Beatrice* the second wife of *Alphonso* haue vniustly reigned, from whom all the pretendents to the succession drawe their beginnings; and therefore they coulde haue no better interest then their predecessors. King *Henry* seemed nowe more colde to determine the question of succession, then the importance of the cause, and the shortnes of his life required: He was greatly pressed by the people, (who be naturally hard to please) seeing his slow proceedings, complained by words and writings dispersed without authors, and were well content their grieses should come to the kings eares: They inferred that the losse of the warre of Affricke, partly restored by his comming to the Crown, was nowe reviued, seeing their hopes that he shoulde preuent their imminent dangers, succeeded vainely: They complained that the time which shoulde be wholie imploied to decide the succession was spent in accidental things, contrarie to their dutie, hauing no other care but to drawe into question such as the king hated, to search by iustice things of small moment, to borow money of the merchants to redeeme the Portugals that were in Affricke, to treat of newe impositions, to the oppression of the people and such like (some whereof, as the redemption of prisoners and that which concerns iustice, they could not reiect as euill) they blamed the time, and the meanes that was spent in them: Passing from this discourse, & hauing as it were a desire to speake slauderously, they touched the ministers of iustice to the quicke, inferring they had corrupt consciences, that the poore were persecuted, the rich fauoured, that all punishments were pecuniarie or barbarous, expressly inuited to molest the poore innocents, & giue autority to the rich culpable, who are seldome punished: They shewed againe how much a briefe decision of the succession did import, and that it was no sound aduise to cite the pretendents, & assemble the States, being tedious matters, alleaging that if the king to receiue the scepter had no neede of these things, neither had his successour, but that

I I

he

» he ought to decide this cause by himselfe, with the aduise of learned  
 » and confident Doctors, and according to that which he shoulde  
 » finde conuenient treate the accordes and capitulations, with the  
 » greatest libertie of the Realme he coulde, giuing contentment to  
 » the excluded, and making of many members one body, thereby to  
 » auoide the bottomlesse gulfe of ciuill warres. And in truth this was  
 » the wisest and most Christian resolution of all others: They did not  
 » allow of the making of Gouernours, tearing them bodies without  
 » a head, saying, they coulde not after the kings decease, effect any  
 » good, iudging there woulde be amongst them diuersitie of opini-  
 » ons, the people woulde be altered, the great woulde disobey, and  
 » euery one of the pretenders woulde call himselfe king, they did  
 » foretell the Realme woulde be decuided in factious, that one would  
 » follow one party, the other an other party, & in the meane time the  
 » strongest woulde preuaile by armes. The most aduised feared the  
 » forces of the Catholique king, being neere, and alwaies readie, and  
 » although some trusting in his modestie, beleueued after the death of  
 » *Henrie* he shoulde peaceably attend the sentence, yet such as ( more  
 » practised in the affaires of the worlde ) knewe that the encrease of  
 » kingdomes had neither end nor measure, that they be never giuen  
 » or taken away by the opinion of Doctors, they feared most of all;  
 » they termed it, a diuelish temptation of thosc, that perswaded *Henry*  
 » to take a wife, or once to speake of it, saying, they were not woor-  
 » thie that God shoulde nowe worke miracles for the loue of them.

The king mooued with these reasons, which were partly deliuered  
 vnto him, began more vehemently then accustomed, to treate of  
 these affaires. And forasmuch as the Prior, hauing taken his oath to  
 obey the Gouernours, was retired to Almada, a citie vpon the riuier  
 of Tagus, right against Lisbone, where he made his vsual residence,  
 the king doubting, that remaining there, and comming sometimes  
 to the citie as he did, he might encounter with the Duke of Bra-  
 gance, and that as concurrents in one action, and competitors in  
 present, there might growe some perillous contention, the which  
 was doubted, hearing there was hatred betwixt them, for this cause  
 he comandemented the saide Prior, to retire himselfe to his said Priorie  
 of Crato, the which he did, and likewise to the Duke ( though some-  
 what later ) to withdrawe himselfe: The Prior was there cited, not  
 (without

(without permission) to come personally to the court, but to sende *The letters  
of the Prior  
to Henrie.* his Attournies, wherewith being grieved, he did write vnto the king, thanking him that he had admitted him to plead, and complaining that he was in a manner banished. He said, that he ought not to forbid him to assist in his owne cause, when as the Duke of Offu-na Embassador for the Catholique king, and the Duke of Bragance were present at their pleas: For besides the discommoditie hee shoulde haue in deliuering his reasons, whosoeuer shoulde see him banished from the Court, whilst they treated of so weightie a cause, woulde suppose him so farre in the princes disgrace, as he shoulde not dare to maintaine his title: But all this preuailed not, for the king woulde neuer suffer him to depart from Crato, and although he did obey with difficultie, going often from place to place, yet would he neuer admit him to Court. The first processe the king put vpon the file, was touching the satisfaction the Prior pretended to giue for his legitimation, wherein he had secretly all the pretenders opposite, desiring to haue it tried first (as indeed it ought to be) for vpon proofe of his legitimation, he was either to be admitted or excluded from the succession. And forasmuch as Princes doe commonly execute that carefully which they do affect, for this reason and to the ende the sentence he shoulde pronounce thereupon, shoulde remaine firme, he had obtained secretly at Rome a briefe from the Pope, by the which he gaue him authoritie, absolutely to iudge the cause of legitimation, without any forme or processe, according to the truth thereof: So as hauing strictly examined the witnesses, he allowed some reasons, and reiected others, and duely weighed the processe. Finally, he came to sentence, framed by vertue of the Popes owne motion, wherein was reported in a manner the whole processe. The deposition of the witnesses which were fowre, two conuinced to be false, for they recanted, confessing *The sen-  
tence of  
King Henry  
against the  
Prior con-  
cerning his le-  
gitima-  
tion.* they had beene suborned by *Anthony*, and the other two were suspected, being neere kinsemens, and disagreeing betwixt themselues: The words of the testament of *Leves*, father to the saide Prior were annexed, wherein he called him bastard, with many other reasons, whereby he concluded, that he declared *Anthony*, (these be the proper wordes of the sentence) not lawfull, but illegitimate. And touching the pretended marriage and legitimation, hee imposed him perpetuall

perpetuall silence, still reseruing to himselfe power to proceede against the witnessses, and himselfe as he shoulde thinke conuenient: This sentence being pronounced, the king sent *Edward de Castelbianco* chiefe of the Sergeants to Crato, with commission to apprehende the Prior prisoner: But some imagined this was rather a shew of the king to amaze him, then for any other effect, iudging as it hapned, that he would not be found.

*The reasons  
of the Ca-  
tholique  
king against  
the preten-  
dents.*

Nowe was the Catholique king more effectually satisfied touching the interest he had to this Realme, for although in the beginning the Doctors had resolued him that the succession appertained vnto him, yet desirous to know with more grounde, the opinion of learned men of other prouinces, especially of Portugall, who waighing and disputing the reasons of euery pretendent, with their contrarieties and tearmes, had resolued amongst them that *Philip* was vndoubtedly the successour, being the eldest kinsman that *Henry* had a male and lawfull, and that with these qualities he did surpasre and exclude all the competitours, one after an other. They helde

*Against the Anthony* directly to be vnlawfull, hauing alwaies liued in that opinion, and was so held by his Father *Lewes* at his death (as it appeered by his testament) that although he had demaunded his legitimatiōn at Rome, and had obtained it, yet coulde not any roiall or pontifciall legitimation serue for the succession of a kingdome. They

*Against the  
Duke of Sa-  
uoy.*

discharged themselues of *Phillibert* Duke of Sauoy in fewe words, saying onely that he was yoonger of yeeres, and sonne of a yoonger sister then the Empresse, Mother to the Catholique King. They denied the reasons of eldership, whereon *Rainucius* did ground himselfe, saying moreouer, they might well graunt it without danger, for that the same Doctors which faoured this lawe, do not vnderstande it shoulde take place, if the same person, from whom they woulde transport it did not enioy it. And forasmuch as *Edward* was deceased many yeeres before *Henry* succeeded, or euer thought to come vnto the Crowne, he could haue no interest nor any considerable hope that might come to his descēdents; so as they made small account of al that *Rainucius* could alleage, touching the linnage, eldership, imaginary degrees, and transmissions, saying, that such as groud theselues most vpon these subtilties, do leane stil vpon representations, without the which they are of sinal moment, prouing that

*Rainucius*

Raincins coulde not aide himselfe with representation, being out  
of the degree wherein the lawes allow it; and therefore remained  
inferior to Philip. Against the Dutchesse, they alleged that king-  
domes appertaining to the ancient lawes of nations, the succession  
ought not to be ruled by the Ciuell lawe full of fictions and subtile-  
ties, the which were framed by the Emperours many yeeres since:  
And although souereigne Princes did bring them in for the good  
gouernment of their subiects, yet had they not altered the simple  
naturall rules of the succession, the which they affirmed shoulde be  
obserued in this case, as it had beeene before the birth of *Justinian*,  
who was the author of these representations. And although some  
Doctors woulde rashly make the succession of Realmes, subiect to  
ciuell institutions, yet according to this consideration they made  
*Philip's* title vndoubtfull; and those which helde this opinion were  
learned men, and more curious of antiquitie then are commonly  
our ordinarie Lawyers. But least they shoulde seeme to take that  
course to auoide the lawes, they woulde also withdrawe themselues  
within the tearmes of the Ciuell lawe, as if it were a matter in con-  
trouerſie betwixt two persons for a priuate possession. There did  
they prooue that in Realmes more properly then in any other  
thing, they succeeded by right(as they call it) of consanguinitie, that  
is to say, hauing regard vnto the first instituter, and that following  
this law, they shoulde consider the persons of the pretenders, by  
themselues without representations or respect of their fathers, as if  
they were childrē of the last possessor, in which sort *Philip* remained  
in stead of the eldest vnto *Henry*: They said also, that if they should  
yeelde that which the Dutchesse pretends, that they succeede not  
in Realmes by right of consanguinitie, but by that which they call  
inheritance, hauing regarde vnto the last possessor, yet coulde she  
not be equall vnto *Philip*, for that the representation wherewith she  
pretends to helpe herselfe, doth not extend to the Nephew, but in  
concurrents with the same vncle, according to the most auncient,  
most approoued, and most grounded opinion. They added more-  
over, that the succession of kingdomes, not onely by the right of na-  
tions(as is formerly related) but also by the same Ciuell lawe, is ex-  
empt from al representations, being not brought in by custom: And  
although the Dutchesse may represent the degree of her Father,

*Against the  
Dutchesse of  
Bragance.*

notwithstanding it were impossible she shoulde represent the qualite of a male, being a harde matter that a woman equall onely in degree, and in all other things inferiour, shoulde pretend to be preferred before a man in administration of Realmes, and that her priuate defect shoulde hurt her leſſe, then to *Philip* that of his Mother: It was therefore resolued, that of all the Nephewes of king *Emmanuel*, he that shoulde be founde to be eldest, a male, and lawfull, shoulde precead the rest, and this was the Catholique King. And although the pretention of the people, and of the most Christian Queene were held vaine, and onely mooued to trouble *Philip*, yet did they answere them formally. Against the people they saide, that they had no greater priuiledge of election within this Realme, then in the rest of Spaine, the which all fall by succession, when there is any lawfully descended of the bloud roiall: And that in Portugal they haue leſſe libertie then the rest, growing from the gifts of the kings of Castill, and from the conquest of the kings of Portugall: And forasmuch as the people hath not giuē the realme to their first kings, there could not any thing chance whereby they should name or choose one. And for that which they alleage of the electiō of king *John* the first, they answered that not onely this reason did not serue them, but therby it did appeare that the realme in that case was successiuē, hauing (leauing apart, that it was rather a violent crie of cōquering Partizants, then a free election) themselues secretly confesſed, that they had no right to choose, whilst there remained any one lawfully descended of the Roiall issue, inferring that *Beatrice* Queene of Castill was a bastard, and that the Realme was in the same estate, wherein other Realmes of succession may choose their King, all the kinsmen of the last deceased being extinct. They

*Against the  
Queene  
mother of  
Fraunce.*

pleaded against the most Christian Queene, that her pretention was improbable, and prescribed, seeing that the successours of the Earle of Bulloigne, had neuer made any mention thereof, neither is it credible that since this pretention was incorporate to the crowne of so mightie a Realme, such wise and mightie Princes, as were *Frauncis* the first, and *Henry* the second, woulde haue forgotten to haue called it in question. But the truth was, the Countesse *Matilda* left no children as it appeeres in her Testament, in the publike Registers of Portugall, making therein no mention to leauue any by king

king *Alphonse*, nor to haue had any, and viewing the antiquities of the Realme, they saide that a writer was abused, who reported that a yoong childe buried in the church of Saint *Dominico* in Lisbone, was her sonne; and though it shoulde be so, yet doth it not contradict, since she doth not affirme she had any children, but that he died yoong. They did likewise prooue that *Matilda* had not any, by a formal request found in the same registers, by the which all the Prelats of the Realme did beseech Pope *Vrbane*, that it would please him to disanull the curse which he had laide vpon the Realme; and that he woulde approoue the marriage of *Beatrice* the second wife of *Alphonse*, that he would make their children legitimate, that there might be no hinderance in the succession of this Realme; whereby they concluded, that if there had beene any lawfull children of *Matilda*, they coulde not haue perswaded the Pope to preferre the bastards of *Beatrice*. They added that these reasons were not vniknowne in Fraunce, and that of late there had beene a booke printed of the genealogie of the houses of *Medicy*, and *Bulloigne*, continued vnto *Katherine* the most Christian Queene, whereby it did cleerely appeare, that *Matilda* had left no children by *Alphonse* her second husband, hauing beene formerly married to *Philip*, sonne of *Philip Augustus* king of Fraunce, by which marriage she had one daughter named *Lane*, who succeeded not her mother in the Countie, dying before her without issue: So as *Robert* sonne of *Alix*, sister to *Matilda* came to the succession, and this is that *Robert* from whom they would drawe the descent of the Queene Mother, being the Nephew, & not the sonne of *Matilda*. So as not being prooued by any meanes that *Alphonse* the thirde had any children by his first bedde, but the contrary by many reasons; they saide the Queene had no reason to pretende, neither had she done it in time. *Philip* Philip sen- therefore being grounded in this action, sendes into Portugall for debt to sig- assistants to the Duke, *Rodorik Vaquez*, and *Lewes de Mo'ina*, mife his Doc-  
right to tors of the law, and Auditors of his Councell roiall, with the title of *Henry*. Embassadors, to signify vnto the King, and to his Councell his apparant iustice, with aduertisement notwithstanding that they should do no acte, whereby they might inferre that they acknowledge any jurisdiction in the king: Being arriued, and all the Agents of the Catholique King consulting together, they propounded the matter  
of

*Philip prepares for warre against the Portugals.*

of succession in forme as they were commanded, deliuering in writing vnto the king an ample allegation of the reasons of *Philip*: But for that in the beginning they had founde the kings thoughts bending to the Dutchesse of Bragance, they laboured long in vaine to make him capable of the iustice of their king. They vsed all meanes they thought conuenient, and heerein *Mora* perfourmed great offices, not onely with the King, and his fauorites, but with the Gentle-men and Noblemen of qualitie: so as many with liuely reasons, giuing to one, offering to an other, by effects, wordes and writings, he drew all he coulde to the Catholique Kings deuotion: It seemed that this manner of sounding the Nobilitie with money, and promises, did then serue to purpose. And although the course which the king helde, for the attaining of his pretention, seemed vnto him expedient, yet did he not so relike thereon, as ( knowing the Portugals to be restie ) he woulde omit force, for that seeing the indisposition of *Henry*, he sought to winne time, and so to prepare himselfe, that if he shoulde chaunce to die, at such time, when as the Portugals woulde not yeeld him the Crowne quietly, he might sodainly take possession thereof by force. But hauing learned by experiance in the warre of Granado, the losse of Golette, and the defence of Malta, that one nation alone sheweth not so great a courage, as vniited with another, this competencie seruing as a spurre to animate them, he resolued to prepare to warre, with the forces of diuers nations, as if he had beene certaine, that of necessitie he must winne this Realme by conquest. And although the generall opinion were, that fewe men woulde serue against the vnexperienced Portugals, and that he shoulde not finde any resistance against his force, yet knowing that there is not any humaine force but may be vanquished, hee resolued to make an armie of fortie thousand foote, considering, that although the Portugals were such as it was saide, yet being at home, and by reason of the hatred and furie of the whole Realme, they might in one day drawe togither aboue seuentie thousand men for any expedition, and therefore it behoued him to be strong. He therefore commaunds *Inico Lopez de Mendoza*, Marques of Moundegiar, then Viceroy at Naples, to keepe in a readines his Spanish foote, with the ships and munition for Portugall, he leuied nine thousand Italians, vnder the commaund of *Peter de Medicy*,

*Medicy*, brother to *Frauncis* the great Duke of Tuscayne, hee brought downe sixe thousand Germanes, with Counte *Jerome* of Lodrone: and although he might haue raised in Spaine a great number of men of all sorts, yet trusting onely to his entertained soldiers, he leuied the greatest forces he coulde, purposing to ioine to those Spaniards that were but fresh water soldiers, some of those that had beene in Italy, and such as were come from the warres of Flaunders: But these things were effected with more ease and lesse numbers then were appointed. For although the Viceroy of Naples did in the beginning very carefully prouide for it, yet after hee grew colde, abandoning all, hauing intelligence that the King had chosen to succeed him in his charge *John de Suniga*, great commander of Castill, and that he shoulde returne into Spaine: yet the soldiers were inrolled and conducted with armes and munition to Gibraltar, and other places of Andelouzia thereabouts, from whence they marched after to the confines of Portugall, the number chiefly of Italians, being greatly diminished, with hunger, and other discommodities, not without consideration that nine thousand men seeme much in Spaine. And although they arriued a yeere later then the king had commanded, yet came they sooner then necessity required: for *Henry* yet liuing, they were long idle. But this preuention was done like a valiant and wise Prince, maintaining an armie vpon the confines of his owne Realme, without vse thereof, during a mans life, attending his naturall death, when as no man is yet so neere death, but may liue some yeeres. The Catholique King preferring the danger to be vnarmed, and *Henry* deceasing before his expences, gaue this testimonie, not onely of his wisdome, but of the great desire he had to be assured of this Realme, wherein he did surmount his owne nature, and the custome of the Spanish nation, who by their long delaies, doe often faile in their enterprises: The galleies and ships which had transported these men, went to Saint Marie Porte, where the whole nauic by sea shoulde assemble.

*Henry* was still discontented with *Anthony*, who (notwithstanding the Kings late commandement not to approch within a hundred miles of the Court) wandered from place to place, drawing the peoples harts vnto him. The King was desirous to finde some meanes to punish him, with a more rigorous sentence. But the Prior when

when as the cause of his legitimation was in question before the King, by vertue of his holines briefe, mistrusting what hapned, had by the counsell of *Alexander Formento*, then the Popes *Nuncio* in the Realme, sent to Rome, complaining vnto the Pope of the hatred his vncle did vniustly beare him, beseeching him to reuoke the cause vnto himselfe, and to be the onely iudge thereof, for that the King was suspect vnto him: By reason whereof, the Pope saying that his first intention was not to make *Henry* absolute iudge to giue sentence inclusiue; he write vnto him by an other briefe, with defence not to proceede in the cause, for the which he appointed as newe iudges the said *Nuncio*, & *George de Almada*, archbishop of Lisbone, but not with authoritie to giue sentence, but after due information of the processe, to sende it to Rome. This briefe was sent to the *Nuncio*, that he might deliuere it vnto the King, the which he did, by an apostolike Notarie, fearing he should haue refused it. *Henry* was greatly moued that the Pope had reuoked the cause vnto himselfe, both for that the execution of the sentence did import, as also imagining he was wronged by taking the cause out of his handes, whereof before he had made him iudge. So as greatly discontented with the Pope, and his choler encreasing against his Nephew, he woulde now vse his roiall authoritie, and leauing to proceede as the Popes substitute; he began as King to proceed against the Prior. And although the *Nuncio* (it may be by the Popes commandement, or rather by his own inclination) was fauourable vnto him, shewing himselfe very opposite to the Catholique King: yet *Henry* left not daily, yet coldly, to continue the cause of the succession; for hauing cited him to courte, and he not daring appeere, he caused his edicts and proclamations to be set vpon the pallace gate, whereby he was cited to appeere within twelue daies. The Prior (who had soone a copie of this edict from his agents) was greatly displeased, to see the course the King held against him, yet durst he not appeere, fearing if he fell into the kings hands, the hatred he did beare him woulde drawe him to some strange conclusion; he resolued therefore to absent himselfe labouring to appease his wrath by letters, which he did write vnto him, complaining of the manner of his proceedings in his behalfe, striuing to make knowne his better deseruing. He saide that he ioyed in his afflictions, calling him in his edicts Nephew, as indeed

*The suspension  
of Henry's  
briefe.*

*The Priors  
letters to  
Henry con-*

indeed he was, and sonne to that his brother, to whom this Crowne <sup>gaining his</sup> hauing so great a bond, he did not beleue he shoulde so soone for-<sup>riger.</sup> get it, although his ill deseruings had bin greater then his fathers <sup>"</sup> merits : He remembred the respect the King himselfe, and his pre- <sup>"</sup> decessors had vnto his father, and the amasement they shoulde haue <sup>"</sup> to see him thus by him vnjustly persecuted: He did not attribute the <sup>"</sup> blame of the kings inclination to the king himselfe, but to the sinnes <sup>"</sup> of the Realme, and to the ill disposition of some fauorites, shewing <sup>"</sup> on the one side, that he bare with patience, what it shoulde please <sup>"</sup> God to impose, and on the other side complained of his vncle, that <sup>"</sup> he did execute against him the passions of priuate men : And for- <sup>"</sup> asmuch as when he returned from prison out of Affrick, some had <sup>"</sup> giuen out that he had fledde from the battaile, and was not taken <sup>"</sup> prisoner, he touched likewise this point, lamenting to be so flaun- <sup>"</sup> dered : He complained of the King, saying, that to the ende no man <sup>"</sup> shoulde haue compassion on him, he was forced to leaue the Court <sup>"</sup>: by night, hauing only had some speech of his legitimation, shewing <sup>"</sup> he was not woorthie of any brotherly reprehension. He did aggra- <sup>"</sup> uate his banishment with no small prejudice to his credite, at such a <sup>"</sup> time as his competitors were faoured, iniuroned with their kinse- <sup>"</sup> men, and demaunded iustice face to face : He alleged that his holi- <sup>"</sup> nes briefe which the king had obtained against him, was ignomini- <sup>"</sup> ous and full of discuties, nothing agreeing to the honor of his <sup>"</sup> father : And although he had obtained an other contrary thereun- <sup>"</sup> to, whereby his holines had reuoked to himselfe the knowledge of <sup>"</sup> the cause, yet was he resolued not to alter any thing, but to passe his <sup>"</sup> daies in miserie and sorrow, whilst the euill deserued passion of the <sup>"</sup> king shoulde continue : He lamented to haue beene forced to give <sup>"</sup> in his proofes within two daies, much more time being granted to <sup>"</sup> any other that pretended ; and that they had giuen no answere to <sup>"</sup> many things he demanded. He complained grieuously of the sen- <sup>"</sup> tence and commandement, to apprehend him for subornation of <sup>"</sup> false witnesses , the which he denied, although he saide that in the <sup>"</sup> kings publike seate of iustice , such as had produced false witnesses, <sup>"</sup> were not greatly punished : He seemed to be greatly grecued to be <sup>"</sup> called disobedient, & a troubler of the publike quiet of the realmes, <sup>"</sup> excusing himselfe with most vehement wordes : He lamented that <sup>"</sup> the

„ the Realme was ruined, which his predecessors had woone, defended, and maintained : He made no mention of appearance, but saide „ it was lawfull for him as to theeeues, to hide himselfe and flie the face „ of iustice, adding, that if the faults wherewith hee is charged were „ such, as the lawes of the Realme command the Church to redresse, „ for that he hath no sure accesse, it woulde please his highnes to „ graunt that (ratis) shoulde serue as his sanctuarie. And although (if „ his sinnes so required) that being Nephew to the king, the first per- „ son of the Realme, his humble and obedient vassall, it coulde not „ mollifie his vncles hart, he woulde craue at Gods hands, remedies „ for his afflictions : He required with humilitie that it might be law- „ full for him to appeale from his edicts vnto the king himselfe, better „ instructed, commaunding copies thereof to contradict them, conclu- „ ding that if it might not be graunted, yet at the least his letter might „ be annexed to the proces, for if due respect would haue suffred him, „ he woulde haue caused it to be set vp in the same place of the edicts, „ for the discharge of his honor, and to make knowinge to the worlde „ that he was vassal, nephew, & faithful seruant vnto the king. This let- ter did nothing mooue the kings hart, but wrought the same effect with his choler, as a little water doth to a great fire : For being more incensed against his Nephew, he proceeded still against him. So as within short time he pronounced a newe sentence, not as a Judge, substitute by his holines, but as an absolute king, that it might not be subiect to any appeale, supposing by this meanes (seeing hee coulde not cast him into prison) he shoulde banish him the Realme.

*Henries se-  
cond sen-  
tence a-  
gainst the  
Prior.*

Wherin repeating his faults, his absence, his contumacy, his disobedience, with the premisses (as was) that he had made to drawe the Nobilitie & people to follow his faction; he deprived him of all his iurisdictions, preheminences, honors, prerogatiues, liberties, graces, and what other recompence souuer he had from the kings his predecessors, commaunding he shoulde be rased out of the bookes, and not paide any thing, not holding him for a naturall borne, but a forraine to these Realmes. He pronounced the like against such as shoulde aide him, lodge him, or any way treate with him : He commaunded him to depart the Realme within fifteene daies, saying, it was expedient for the seruice of God, of him, and the peoples quiet. But notwithstanding this sentence so seuere, yet was it not of force

force to expell the Prior, for being wel beloued of his friendes, and common people, he remained safely in secret : And although for a shew onely he had retired him selfe into a monasterie of Castill, yet he staid not long there, onely to procure a certificate (as he did) of his departure : whereof king *Philip* being aduertised, he was aduised by sonie to take him prisoner, both to be assured of him, & to please *Henry*; but he thought it not then conuenient, whereof after he repented him, for *Antonie* being returned againe into Portugall, it was generally thought that he was ill affected, and grieued with the king, for the sentence he had pronounced against him. *Henry* grew fearefull he shoulde attempt something against his person, which so encreased, that (besides his ordinary guard) he raised certaine companies of souldiers for the assurance of himselfe, and his Courte, a thing at any time vnsene in that Realme. At this time the Embassadors of *Philip* had made *Henry* capable of his title : hauing laid before him, both the good and euill which might ensue, by giuing and taking from him the crowne ; who being enclined to do iustice, mooued therewithall, & with the feare of war, hauing wel considered the matter, and laid aside all affection which made him inclinable to *Katherine*, he resolued with all his power to giue it ynto *Philip*, by the best meanes he coulde devise. And hauing imparted this his meaning to the Duke of Oisuna, and *Christopher de Mora*, he said he woulde ende the cause by way of composition betwixt *Philip* and the Realme, without proceeding vnto sentence : Provided alwaies that the Catholique king shoulde graunt certaine priuileges, not dispose the offices of gouernment and iustice, but vnto the naturall Portugals, and giue certaine graces & exemptions to the generall good of the Realme. Heere plainly appeared the errour of *Henry*, who hauing cited all the pretendents, and brought the matters to tearnies of iustice, thought it afterwards more conuenient to come to composition with *Philip*, which shoulde have beene formerly done, if it were to be done. These capitulations were sent vnto *Philip*, to Madrill, whom *Henry* entreated to keepe them secret, as one that feared a contrarie disposition in the people. And although hee were not ignorant, howe hard the quiet execution of this his will woulde be, by reason of the people, and some Gentle-  
*Henry changes his opinion to the benefit of Philip, concerning the succession.*

pounded to the states, with all the mildenes it might be. Some hold that father *Leon Anriquez*, of the order of Iesuits, the kings Confessour, was rather the cause of this his vnxpected resolution, then the practises of the Catholique kings ministers, and that from him (in whom the King did greatly trust) proceeded his first inclination to the Dutchesse of Bragance, but fearing the indignation of *Philip*, he turned the thoughts of *Henry* to fauour his title. By means whereof in October 1579. he called againe the deputies of the Cities, and other estates, vpon colour to impart vnto them a matter of importance. *Philip* disallowed this resolution of *Henry*, to assemble the States, for being assured of the small affection the Portugals bare him, he was most assured that assembling them togither, they woulde never agree to yelde him the Crowne, and therefore hee aduised the King, without any other assembly, to declare a successor, seeing in the last Estates held at Lisbone, the whole Realme had giuen him full power, the which if he would vse in this controuersie of the Realme, and not make any new conuocation of Deputies, he shoulde write to euery citie in particular his intention, and aduise, thinking it more easie to perswade them deuided, then vnted in one body: But *Henry* not daring effect it, did sollicite the comming of the Deputies. In Italy (seeing the Catholique King a little before assemble so great forces) they made diuers coniectures thereof, they furnished the places of ordinarie suspect, with newe garrisons: some beleaved he that had entred league with the Cheriffe, *Mulei Hamet*, that both iointly togither would attempt Alger, supposing the Moores had propounded this enterprise for feare of the Turkes, and that the king with his aide woulde expell them from thence, being so nearete neighbour vnto Spaine. The Pope vnderstanding the contrarietie in Portugall, seeing the Catholique King prepare so greatly to armes, he commaunded *Philip Segas* his Nuncio in Castilia to say vnto him, that although he knewe these preparatiues of warres were against Infidels; yet seeing the estate wherein Portugall stode, it might bee supposed it was intended against that Realme, and being dangerous to come to armes, and to stirre vppe the humours which cannot be setled at pleasure, hee offred himselfe to be a mediatour betwixt him and *Henry*, and to settle this busines peaceablelie. The king accepted the Popes offer in generall words,

*The offers  
of Pope  
Gregory. I 3  
to the Catho-  
like King.*

entertaining

entertaining his Nuncio with delaies, without giving him any resolute answer, for that (as it was faide) many things did trouble his minde concerning this action. He considered of the one side that being of good yeeres, and his heires but yoong, enioying (except the state of Flaunders) all his countries quietly, it was not fite to stirre vp humours in Spaine; besides, being fearefull to other nations, they woulde not willingly see him augment his dominions, he doubted (that in busyng himselfe in Portugall) some woulde then take occasion to breed some alteration in his territories, and therefore hee willingly gaue eare to any treatie of peace. On the other side he was not well assured of the Popes disposition, seeming he shoulde preiudice his title, to put it to compremise: besides, that to former presidents, he woulde not willingly adde this of new, to acknowledge the Apostolike seate as a iudge of Realnes. He thought it lesse danger to attend the sentence of *Henry*, then of any other, for pronouncing it ( hauing not acknowledged him for iudge) he was not bounde to obey, if it were in his disfavour, retaining still the right of armes; by reason whereof in this suspence, he forbare still to giue the Nuncio his answere, vntill that being better assured of the disposition of *Henry*, he made answere, that his interest being so apparant, and the King so well inclined, there needed not any mediation, the which if it were requisite, he woulde accept of this office, & of the good zeale of his holines. The indisposition of *Henry*, and the disquietnes of his minde, did much afflict him, so as he resembled a lampe neere extinct, the which sometimes yeelds a great light, sometimes seemes quite out: They feared he shoulde die of an accident which hapned, and therefore his Counsell thought good not to attende his death, for the declaration of the Gouernours, but to put them as it were in possession, the which was partly executed. For the King being halfe dead, they brought vnto him the coffer wherein the Rowle was kept, with the names of the Gouernours in the great Church of Lisbone, and hauing opened it, they founde them to be *George Dalmeda* archbishop of Lisbone; *A publicati-*  
*Frauncis de Sada*, first groome of the Kings chamber; *Jean Tello*, *on of the go-*  
*Jean Mascaregnas*, and *Diego Lopez de Sosa*, President of the Cour-*vernors of*  
*sell of Iustice of the citie*, who tooke their oathes to gouerne according to the lawes of the Realme, and to the limited commission,

which *Henry* had particularly set downe. This diligence bredde as well in the peoples mindes, as in the Catholique Kings, a ialousie of the kings death, and the rather, for that two daies before, they woulde not suffer any to see him, supposing they woulde keepe it secret, vntill they had taken counsell, put the Gouernours in possession, and prepared for defence: And although it were presently knowne that the King was yet liuing, and so amended, that he had almost recovered his former health, yet the generall opinion being, that he coulde not liue long, all mens mindes were in suspence in this Realme.

## THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

### The Contents of the fourth Booke.

*The Castillians and Portugals discourse vpon the state of Portugall; the vehemensie of the plague; the estate of Almerin; the death of King Henry; the Regency of the Gouernours; the practise of Anthonie to be chosen King; the Testament of Henry; the diligence of the Catholique King to understande if he might with a safe conscience make warre; the election of the Duke of Alua as generall of the enterprise, and the priuileges the Catholique King offered if they woulde deliuere him the Realme.*



He Catholique King in the meane time kept his armie togither in Spaine, with greater paines, and more charge, then he had done else where; for the countrey being not greatly fertile, he was enforced to fetch victuals from otherparts, being then about the ende of Nouember, 1579. there was then no assuraunce of things, whereby they might either dismisse their armie, or employ it. For although king *Henry* was yet liuing

liuing and well affected, yet the Portugals being most obstinate against the Castillians, he desired not to liue any longer doubtfull of the succession, as well for the charge as for the euent; and therefore he ceased not continually to importune *Henry* to declare him Successor, obiecting many reasons, why he was bound to do it, and propounding many inconueniences which woulde follow, not doing it, the which was spoken in doubtful termes; whereby it seemed he woulde make the equitie of his cause apparant by force: And although this entreatie seemed somewhat to threaten, yet did it nothing displease *Henry*, suffering it exprely to bee published, that the people might beleue, he was forced to this declaration. The whole Realme was discontented to see *Henry* dying, the Catholique King armed, and the small remainder of time spent in matters of light importance, whereof their discourses and opinions were as diuers, as they were different in passions.

The Priors partisans being in a manner all of base qualitie, ha-  
ving their reason darkned, and not settled in opinion, saide, that he <sup>The dif-</sup> course of the  
was legitimate, and that the Crowne appertained vnto him; but <sup>Portugals</sup> upon the  
that the king of his absolute authoritie, hating him woulde deprive <sup>state of the</sup> him; and that all his fauorites did concurre in this resolution: For <sup>Realme.</sup>  
the King hauing alwaies persecuted *Anthony* by their aduise, they  
feared that he comming to raigne, woulde take such reuenge as they  
deserued, and therefore preferring their owne securitie, before the  
libertie of their countrey, they woulde take the Realme from him  
and give it to a stranger. Many others alleaged, that although hee  
were a bastard, yet they ought to give him the Realme, being the  
nearest allied of the bloud royall: Others in whom hatred to their  
neighbours preuailed more then any other inclination, saide, that  
whosoeuer had interest to the Realme, yet shoulde they by no  
meanes giue it to the Catholique King, but rather come to armes,  
vaunting themselues to be valiant. They added moreouer that they  
woulde demaund aide from Fraunce, and England, whereof they  
were assured, and hauing them, they doubted not to seate a King, at  
their pleasures: There were some, yet fewe, but of judgement, who  
comparing the forces of Portugall with Castill, founde they coulde  
not flie the yoke of the Catholique King, and although with great  
griefe, yet they hoped it might prooue a gentle amitie, and that

these Realmes vnted togither, Portugall might reape great profit, by the commerce & traffique. Many spake after their owne humors, saying, that *Anthony* leauing the habite of Saint *Jean* shoulde marrie with the daughter of the Duke of Bragance, and being vnted togither, they needed not to feare. Others gaue out, that the Catholique King woulde be contented to giue his seconde sonne to the Portugals, for their king, to be brought vp amongst them, the which they shoulde accept, for were it whosoeuer, it were sufficient to haue a King alone. And some say, that *Henry* laboured to effect this, but *Philip* soone resolued him, saying, that he coulde not do it, but to priuidice the Prince his eldest sonne, fearing by this meanes to leaue a seminarie of diuision in Spaine betwixt his descendents. The perfwasion of the Catholique Kings Agents, with the Nobility were of great effect, by reason whereof there were few Gentlemen, amidst this diuersitie of opinion, but either did willingly encline to the said King, or corrupted held their peace, and retired themselues from Court, auoiding all occasion to declare themselues. Of the ffe Gouernours chosen, three were drawne to the Catholique Kings deuotion; and although we shold not be amazed, to see the common people ( who by custome inconstant and without iudgement ) holde the woorser part, yet did it breed a woonder in many, that the Portugals in generall, euery one according to his qualitie, framed in their mindes a resolution, contrarie to that which by reason they ought to haue done, in a matter of so great importance, in the which they shold haue taken greater consideration: For that some discoursed without passion, that the Nobilitie ( accustomed to be respected of the King ) shoulde flie the obedience of the Catholique King, being credible, that *Philip* ( according to his custome ) woulde with lawes and his power, keepe them vnder, and contrariwise, that the people shoulde embrace him, whom he doth equally fauour, yeelding them equall iustice. And yet notwithstanding the greater part followed the contrarie, for the Nobilitie did embrace *Philip*, and the people fled him: For satisfaction whereof, and to reclame them from the opinion they held, the Agents of the Catholique King were desirous ( besides the diligence they had vsed ) to publish throughout the Realme the Kings title, and the mildenes of his yoke, seeming not sufficient ( for the content of the common people)

people) to haue privately imparted it to many. Their aduersaries (amongst the which was the magistrate of the Chamber of Lisenone) woulde willingly haue taken occasion to publith vnto the worlde their contrarie reasons, whereon they grounded; but it was not tolerated, neither for the one nor the other, to speake publikely in the assemblies of the people: for besides that it was prohibited, euery one durst not freely discouer his intention: For this occasion diuers fell to write the grounds of their partie, by discourse and letters. And although writings breed not so firme an impression in the minde as the voice, yet their discourse published, did perswade with greater efficacie then they had done by speaking; for that writings came to the hands of more men then wordes could haue done, where, reading and examining them, they wrought great effects.

There were many of these letters scene without authors, and al- *The Castillians*.  
though some were triuolous, and without sense, yet the better sorte *ans discourse*  
which followed the Catholique kings partie, tended to satisfie the *touching the affaires of*  
people, and to terrifie the motiues thereof by the greatnes of the *Portugall*.  
action, and the perill of warre: They did particularly touch one af-  
ter another, the reasons of the pretendents, and refuting them all,  
shewed that the Catholique King did preceed. They made no  
small adoo about the processe of *Anthony*, saying, that he was a ba-  
stard, although he had beeene declared legitimate, and to preceed  
*Philip*, yet shoulde they neuer satisfie the worlde, but they woulde  
surmise some cosinage, deuised to take the Crowne from him who  
ought to enjoy it. They disprooued the reasons of such as main-  
tained the election of the King to be in the people, hauing a lawfull  
successor, bringing in examples of the Popes authoritie in the no-  
mination of Kings, as well of *Alphonso* the first, as of the Earle of  
Bulloigne: And if *John* the first were chosen king, it was after a bat-  
taile woone; the Portugals affirming, there were no lawfull succe-  
sors, but bastards & illegitimate: but by their owne reason they said  
it was apparent, there was now no question of the election, seeing  
there remained a lawful kinsman. They laboured to make knowne  
that God hauing called vnto him two and twentie successors, which  
did all preceed the Catholique king, that his pleasure was by vni-  
ting of Portugall to the Realmes of Castill, to fortifie an arme of  
the Church, to resist all the outragious attempts of Infidels and  
heretikes:

heretikes. But leauing the iustice and will of God aside, they discoursed, examining the honors and blames, the losses and profits, which by the one or other meanes, might happen: as for honor, they shoulde not take for any disgrace, and obedience which fell by lawfull succession, alleaging that the States of Castill, (when as king *Emanuell* did inherite) being strong enought to defende themselfes if they woulde, received him curteously. And when as the Archduke of Austria, (although a Germaine) did succeed him, they did the like. They mocked at such as said that Castill should be vniited to Portugall, but not Portugal to Castill; proouing, that no Portugall euer came neere this Court, but he was embraced & greatlie honoured; many of the principall houses of Castill being issued from Portugall. They did contradict with liuely reasons, such as feared to be oppressed, like to the estates of Flaunders, Naples, and Millaine; saying that in Flaunders they had alwaies vsed the people with great kindnes, that they had beene gouerned by their owne nation, & that the Spaniards had no charge there: That many of the principall had rebelled against the church of Rome, & against their king, the which he woulde not suffer, that in this enterprise ( more for that which concerned the good of the Church, then for any other respect,) the King had spent 50. millions of gold, and that hauing for enimies, both Germany, Flaunders, & England, they could not take these countries from the Kings possession, but hauing meanes ( graunting free libertie of Religion ) to be absolute Lord, and to reap thereby great profit, he would not accept thereof, onely for the remorse of his conscience, preferring the seruice of God before all other respects: They saide that the Neapolitanes and Millanoyes had beene conquered by force, weake of themselfes, and enuironed with enimies, that they were not burdened, neither coulde he do lesse then maintaine garrisons, inferring thereby, that if they were peaceably inherited, they shoulde haue libertie like good and faithfull subiects, and maintaine with more force that which their fathers had gotten, without feare of any thing whatsoeuer; but if they suffered themselfes to be conquered by armes, they should be Neapolitanes, Millanoyes, and possiblie worse. They commended the Portugals, as faithfull, obedient, and indued with commendable parts, blaming the basenes of such as were not ashamed

ashamed to thinke, they coulde be ill intreated of any prince what-  
socuer. They said, that since *Philip* was resolute, and that hee had  
written to the cities of the Realme the assurance of his action, see-  
ing that in fourteene yeeres hee had neuer abandoned the enter-  
prise in Flaunders being farre off, hauing so many kings opposite,  
and the Flemmings suing to be subie & vnder iust condicions, that  
it is not credible he woulde desist from Portugall being so neare, so  
weake without succours, and hauing so great an interest: they report-  
ted with ioy the deeds of the Spaniards, saying, that when as Spaine  
takes armes, he doth imprison the king of Fraunce, and the greatest  
of Germanie; makes the Turke to turne his backe, takes from him  
Malta, dissolues his armies, maintaines continually in Flaunders an  
armie sounde and lustie, breaking and dispersing his enimies, and  
yet the Noblemen of Spaine remaine quietly in their houses. From  
their valour, they came to the consideration how Portugall woulde  
resist so great a Monarch, entreating them with affectionate words  
to haue regard thereunto. They saide that the comfort of men of  
iudgement, was to see the small force of the Portugals, for if it were  
greater, they might for a time make some resistance, considering  
their obstinacie, iudging that in the beginning of this warre, the  
kings of the Indies woulde presently become Lords of the sea coast,  
the Moores woulde assaile the places of Affricke, the French and  
English woulde attempt the Islands, some woulde vsurpe on one  
side, some of another, not onely to the losse of the Realme, but of  
all Christendome. They brought in the example of King *Sebastian*, shewing that he was lost for not measuring his forces: And al-  
though the consideration had beene easie, many protesting against  
it, and many foretelling the future euent, yet God tooke from them  
their vnderstanding, as he doth from those whom he meaneth to  
punish, and in this manner he hath deprived them of iudgement,  
who aduise to take from the Catholique King the succession of the  
Realme. They compared the anitie of Castill with that of Fraunce,  
reporting the wrongs and pyracies, which the French being at sea  
had daily done to Portugall, and the small reckoning was helde of  
them that had complained, and contrariwise the concord and rest  
which since the last peace made with the Castillians vntill that day,  
they had enjoyed, without the breach of any one article, blaming  
the

the manner of the French, saying that they sought nothing else but to be admitted, and after to become masters; the which not succeeding, they striued to be admitted to plead, the equitie of their Kings cause, seeking alwaies occasion to complain. They added, that if the election were in the people, and that the Catholique king had no enterest, onely to be free from the French, they shoulde unite themselues with Castill, that they might liue in peace, and bridle this French furie, which hath often throwne the Portugals aliue into the sea, and slaine their gouernors and the Kings captaines, by their Kings commission; for by this vniion, besides the seruice of God, the French would feare and not spoile so boldly at sea. They commended king *Henry* as iust and holie, saying, that the best resolution they coulde take, was to fall at his feete, beseeching him that seeing the Catholique king was the most honorable, the most nearest, and the eldest kinsman that he had, that in the name of God he shoulde sweare him Prince, according with him of the most necessarie points, for the libertie of the Realme, and shewing themselues conformable to the bequest sometimes made by king *Emanuel*: That they shoulde not loose this occasion during his life, but (laying aside their obstinate intercessions) labour iointly to stille the warre, and not be forced to yeelde to Castill at such time, when as it shoulde not be acceptable, perfourming the which they shoulde not onely preserue their owne goods, but inherite others, seeing the greatness of Castill doth indifferently admit all subiects Spaniards, to the greatest dignities; bringing for examples, that the Archbishop of Toledo, and the office of the President of the Councell roiall, which be the highest dignities spirituall and temporall, were not then enioied by Castillians: They protested that if they stopped their eares to the truth, and did open them to apparant lies, they shoulde feele within their owne home warre, with the murthers, spoiles, thefes, and burnings it brings with it. On the other side the Portugals made answeare to their letters, saying, they desired no warre, but woulde defende themselues against any that shoulde attempt it: They alleaged many reasons of their iustice and force, with auncient examples of the holie Scriptures, whereas small numbers in a iust cause haue vanquished a great armie. They refuted that opinion that God by the vniion of these Realmes would fortifie in Castill

*The Portugals answeare  
to the Castillians dis-  
course.*

an armie of the church, shewing many grounds, wherby they should judge the contrarie, blaming the sacke of Rome, and some other vnwoorthy actions of the Castillians. They laboured much to prooue that the Prior of Crato was legitimate, & that King *Henrie* had bin a most passionate iudge in that cause. They spared not to touch the reasons of the Dutchesse of Bragance, shewing that she ought to precead the Catholique King in the succession. They condemned the said King, saying, that distrusting his Title he had prepared to armes: They shewed by a long discourse, that the vniou of Portugall would neither breed them profit, nor honour, but losse and dishonour, were the conditions neuer so ample and good: drawing examples from Flaunders and Aragon, shewing that the behauour of the Spaniardes in the Low-countries, had beene the cause that those people had rebelled against God, and against their temporall Lord: They did obiect that all nations subiect to the Catholique King, were reputed his subiects in matters of charge, and burthens of the warre; but in honours, recompences, and exemptions, they were vnknowen: They valued not the Kings forces, saying, that if it were fearfull to other Prouinces, yet was it not so in Spaine, beeing apparent, that by reason of the barrennes of that countrey, he could entertaine no great Armies, neither durst he for the weaknes of the places draw in mercenarie souldiers, bringing for example the war of Granado, where incountring but with fower disarmed Moores, there was so great daunger with the losse of so many men. They added moreouer that the King had not at this day, one Captaine of account, naming a number which were of the Seminarie of *Charles* the fift who were all dead, and not any other which had succeeded them, imitating the Kings humour who loues rest more then armes; by meanes whereof he had not augmented his Realme, but lost Goletta, with the States of Flaunders, and had yet made greater losses, had there beeene other Kings living in this age, but that in Fraunce, England, and Portugall, the Scepters were in the hands of women and children. They concluded that it was not credible, that the Catholique King, notwithstanding his threatnings, and his prepared forces, woulde take armes in Spaine, for that his forces being vnitid (he was in daunger vpon the least contrarie euent) that some of his Prouinces would rebell against him, and that the French (being

(being a stirring nation) would imbrace this occasion: besides that, being now old and the howres of his death vncertaine, hee should consider, that not injoying the Realme of Portugall in peace, and dying with an Armie in Spaine, hauing no heires but pupilles, hee should leaue them in danger, not onely to be deprived of the posseſſion of Portugall, but also to be much troubled in Castill and his other Kingdomes of Spaine, labouring to prooue, that the Kings were not there beloued as in Portugall. Then began the yeere 1580. a yeere full of miseries and afflictions for the Portugals, not onely by reason of the warre which followed, but also for the dearth and plague; for that the season hauing beene verie drie, the fruit of the earth was in a manner all lost, neither had the husbandmen in many places reaped what was sowne; besides there came not from Fraunce and Germanie ſuch quantitie of corne as was vſuall: But this miserie was ſupportable in regard of the rest, for neuer was the ſcarſtie ſo great, but things neceſſarie would be found for money: That of the contagion was moſt cruell, for hauing runne through Italy, Germanie, England, and a part of Fraunce, it came finally into this Realme, from whence it ſpread throughout all Spaine, but moſt of all in the citie of Libleone, hauing begonne lightly the yeere before, it increased at the entring of this ſpring, and ſo augmented all ſommer, but declined in the fall. This contagious mortalitie (ſuffered it may be of God for our ſinnes) proceeded not from any corruption of the Aire, but from infection; and was brought into the Realme, by men and merchandise from countries infected, for the citie being a great part vnwalled, and of great traffique, it could not eaſily be guarded. The naturall inclination of the aire, the filth of the citie, their feeding of fish (which all generally do vſe) and the ill order, nay the great disorder of the magistrate of the health, in ſeparating the ſicke from the whole, and in all other things touching his charge, did helpe to increase it. The ſuddenes wherewith it did infect and kill in a manner all thoſe that did frequent the ſicke, as fire cloth in powder, strooke a great terrour in the citizens, their remedies and diets were moſt vncertaine: for although that many did phisick themſelues diuersly, and were gouerned in ſundrie manners, yet there died infinite numbers of all qualities, experience did teach that the application of lenitive things, the drinking of Vnicornes

*The plague  
in Portugall,  
and the pro-  
ceedings.*

corns horne, and the Bezars stone were most soueraigne remedies, *Bezr. stone*  
yet to manie it did no good. The greatest part of the Nobilitie, (and *excellent a-*  
of such as had ability to do it) retyred themselues to their gardaines, *gainst the*  
and farmes in the countrey, where (although the whole countrey  
were infected) yet did they seeme to liue more assured, or at the least  
out of the infection, & from the horrible spectacle of dead bodies,  
which were howerly scene in the citie, where the mortalitie grew so  
great that there was nothing to be scene but Beeres with dead bo-  
dies, for the buriall whereof (the churchyards being full,) they were  
forced to vse the streetes and fieldes.

At this time were assembled in the citie of Almerin where the *The States*  
king remained, all the Deputies of the Realme, being called thither : *of Almerin.*  
The citie of Lisbone made election of *Em. manell* of Portugall, and  
*Diego Sa'ema*, who went not, but were reiectet of the King, as sedi-  
tious, and depriued of their offices, in whose place they made choise  
of *Phæbus Moniz*, and *Emanuel de Sosa pacheco* : The said *Salema* was  
not beloued of the king, for that before as Vereador of the citie  
of Lisbone, he saide vnto the king, that they vnderstoode he went  
about not onely to iudge to whom the Realme appertained, but also  
to make a composition, the which he ought not to doe, without  
hearing the people : whereunto the King hauing answered, that the  
people was not capable of this matter, he replied, that he woonded  
the king shoulde iudge this people incapable, whom he had held  
to be most sufficient to raise him to the crowne, wherewith *Henry*  
was greatly moued. This alteration of Deputies ministred mat-  
ter of discourse vnto the worlde : for it seemed the King had decla-  
red himselfe against the people, and that not accepting their elec-  
tion of Deputies, he woulde drawe by force from the States what he  
pleased, but such as knewe the true reason, and howe that *Em. manell*,  
and all those of the house of Portugall, deserued in this case to bee  
repelled, commended this act : These were suspect, forasmuch as  
*John of Portugall*, Bishop of Guarda, brother to the saide *Em. manell*,  
alwaies esteemed more then he was, woulde not onely precead his  
equals, but did scarce beare any respect vnto the Cardinall before  
he was king, whereof grew a great hart burning; so as the Cardinall  
to debase him, hauing drawne foorth a certaine information of his  
ill behauour, libertie of life, and ill gouernment in his Bishopricke,

*Henry chan-  
ges the  
Deputies of  
Lisbone, and  
the cause.*

sent it to Rome, so as the Bishop(as it were forced) went to his holines to purge himselfe. Hee was much grieved with this crosse, for passing by the court of Castill, the Catholique King being informed of his voyage, woulde not suffer him to visite him, although he were entreated : so as now although the Cardinall were come unto the Crowne, their hatred continued, and hauing no other meanes of reuenge, then to oppose himselfe to his resolutions, seeing him enclined to giue the Realme to the Catholique king, he laboured all he coulde to let it, by meanes whereof, he seemed at one instant to be reuenged of two kings : for the effecting whereof, there conspired togither the saide Bishop; *Emanuell* his brother; *Franncis* earle of Vimioso his nephewe, (for the cōtrarieties, that both *Alphonse* his father, and he had with the Cardinall) with other their kinsfolkes and friendes, fauouring *Anthony* Prior of Crato, they resolued to make him king, trusting to the peoples humors. But King *Henry* hauing discerned the equitie of the Catholique kings cause, resolued, as it is said, to giue him the Realme ; & hauing assembled the States, he sent *Pau'e Alphonse* a doctor, in whom he reposeth great trust, to Villa Vizosa, whereas the Duke and the Dutchesse of Bragance remained, giuing them to understande that finding the succession of the Realme to appertaine to *Philip*, and that they were vpon the point to pronounce sentence in his fauour, he did aduertise them in time, to the end they might make their composition with him : But hauing made small account of this aduertisement, interpreting it otherwise, they did not embrace the occasion, the which was likewise represented vnto them by the Catholique king.

*The opening  
of the Estates  
at Almerin  
by the Bishop  
of Leiria.*

In this time the Estates were begun in the pallace of Almeryn, the ninth of Januarey in the kings presence, who (being very sicke) was brought in his chaire, whereas *Anthony Pignero* bishop of Leiria, an eloquent Orator, made the oration, enriched with a goodly stile,  
 , saying, That the Kings thoughts were bent to procure the generall  
 , good of al Christendome, the preseruation and encrease of our ho-  
 , lie Catholique faith, and the peace and tranquilltie of his subiects,  
 , & for the effecting of that which concernes his charge, & to follow  
 , the examples of kings his predecessors, & progenitors, conforme-  
 , able to the actions of his life passed, considering with sound iudge-  
 , ment, great experience, & wise discourse how much it doth import  
 the

the generall good to declare ( during his life ) to whom the lawfull succession of the Realme did appertaine ; he did apply all his care to the decision of that cause, with so great study and zeale , that not suffering himselfe any way to be interrupted with the many graue and extraordinary affaires, nor by the trouble of his long infirmitie, he had with the helpe of God brought it to that estate, that it might speedily be declared, as they had required, and ought generally to wish for : And seeing the finall decision of the cause was brought to that issue , it seemed conuenient to the king, to assemble the States, and to communicate vnto them some points of great importance, for the seruice of God, and the good and quiet of these Realmes, as they shoulde vnderstande , by that which shoulde be particularly deliuered vnto them by his commandement : He exhorted them, that vsing the mysteries, which had been presented lately to al faithfull Christians , with praiers , sacrifices , workes of deuotion and charitie, they shoulde dispose themselues to receiue the light of that heauenly wisedome, which God doth alwaies impart to such, as frame themselues to receiue it , without the which mans wisedome ( were it neuer so subtil ) coulde not worke as it ought, that dooing so, the holy Ghost by his grace woulde inspire their harts, and ligh- ten their vnderstādings, making their wils conformable to his loue, to the end that all that shall be treated of, may bee to the seruice of God & his glory, the encrease of Christian Religion, and the quiet and profite of these Realmes, as he still pretended in all things, and as he doth especially desire and procure in these present occurrents, to the hinderance of his health, but with a most holy zeale.

Hauing ended this speech, *Emanuel de Sosa pachecho*, Deputie of *Lisbone*, rose vp saying : That since God by his prouidence, (amidst so many afflictions hapned to the Realme,) had giuen his Highnes for successor, (trusting in his vertue,) they did expect from him a remedie to their eminent dangers : That they were most assured, that for the loue and desire of his subiects peace , he did not spare his owne health, for which loue and grace they did kisse his handes, offering him all auncient and firme loialty, loue, and obedience, where- with the Portugall nation haue beene woont to serue their Kings his predecessors. At the ende whereof, the trumpets sounding, the King was carried into his lodging : and for that Almeryn is of small

ceipt, all the Deputies were lodged at Arem, which is neere vpon the other side of the riuier of Tagus, assembling at the conuent of Friers, there to holde their councell. The king laboured all hee coulde to drawe some good effect from these Estates, vsing in one case both mildenes and seueritie; but he feared greatly the contrarie: for notwithstanding he supposed that he had drawne the citie of Lisbone, to choose Deputies according to his owne humour, yet coulde he not do the like with other cities, besides he knew not whom to trust. And now was there hapned at Coimbra some small rumour, being aduertised that the Magistrate of the Chamber of that city, with some other citizens, spake too freely in the behalle of the Prior of Crato, touching the succession of the Realme, whither he sent *Martin Correa de Sylua*, to pacifie these stirres, and to punish the offenders: But they laughed at him, and hee returned without effecting any thing; neither did it preuaile, that the king for that respect did imprison *Aryas Gonzalez de Macedo*, Deputie of the same citie, who was after freely set at libertie. The king receiued great contentment by the answer giuen him by the Clergie, and the Nobilitie, hauing imparted vnto them the interest of king *Philip*, and propounded that it were conuenient to make some agreement with him: they kissed his handes, yet was there great disagreement amongst the Nobilitie, before they coulde resolute, for being all reduced to eight and twentie, and those put to voices, the Catholique king preuailed onely with one voice, to the great discontentment of the contrarie faction; and heerin the diligence and promises of the Catholique Agents preuailed much. But *Henry* was no lesse displeased with the proceedings of the thirde estate contrarie to his intent and meaning. It was generally thought that *Phebus Moniz* Deputie of Lisbone was conformable to the kings will, & was chosen to that intent, yet vpon the first assembly of the Deputies the thirteenth of Ianuarie, he plainly discouered his hart, being all assembled, as chiefe of the Councell he spake in this manner. That the Portugall nation was more pleased with deeds then words, and for that he was a Portugall, although some did beleue the contrarie, he woulde speake little: I beleue saide he, that euery one of you in the Massie of the holie Ghost, which hath beene lately celebrated, hath beseeched God to direct all to his honour and glorie; for it is

*The speech  
of Moniz  
Deputie of  
Lisbone.*

that

that we ought to seeke. We haue a most holy king, who being such, « it is not credible that he hath assembled vs heere but to doe vs ho- « nor, & for the preseruation of our publike good: The Realme hath « chosen vs for Deputies, all mens eies are turned vpon vs, to view if « they haue made a good choice: Let vs give them to vnderstande, « that they haue attained their desires, procuring as much as we may « the preseruation of our generall good. It doth not displease me to « heare some say that God hath referued this cause of succession to « be determined in heauen, let vs imbrace this saying : Let vs goe all « to heauen to begge mercy at his hands : let vs all make vs readie as « at the last houre : let vs forget all things below ; I will assure you on « his behalfe that doing so, both here & in that heauenly citie he will « entreat vs as his best beloued : I relie much vpon you , and I be- « seech you that if by reason of my sinnes , I decline from the name « of a Portugall, you will helpe to support me, that I may not loose it ; « I wil be alwaies ready to ioine in any resolution that shal please you. « These wordes spoken with more vehemensie then eloquence, « reuiued the spirits of many of the deputies , who doubted of his in- « clination, so that after the creation of the officers , they alleged : « That seeing that the citie of Lisbone , hauing propounded to the « learned whether the election of the King appertained onely vnto them (as the chiefe citie of the Realme) and finding it was a thing in- « cident to the whole Realme , that it were conuenient , before the « King should send vnto them, to demaund permission in the behalfe « of the Realme, to pretend the election of the King ; being all con- « formable, they sent two deputies to deliuier this Ambassage, who be- « ing ioyfully receiued, and with doubtfull speeches, returned with no « other satisfaction but that the day following , he would sende them « an answere: who being returned to the assembly and making report « what they had done, *Antonio Pignero* a Bishop, arriued, sent from the « King, who spake thus in his name : That the difficultie in assembling « the States was so great, & the matter treated of, of such importance, « that it was fit to touch the point of the conclusion, laying aside ma- « ny things which were of no moment : That the Catholique King « (since that his Highnes had taken the Scepter of these Realmes) « had pressed him to declare his successor, saying, that he was assured, « both by the opinion of Doctors of his owne Realme, and of others, «

*The Depu-  
ties of the  
Realme  
sent to Hen-  
rie to be ad-  
mitted to  
the election  
of the King  
with the an-  
swere.*

that the succession appertained vnto him , but that King *Henrie* made answeare, he must be better enformed, & heare the parties pretending to the same secession, entertaining him in this sort vntill he had knowledge vnto whom it appertained by right, and being now satisfied , finding there yet resteth some doubt betwixt the Catholique King and the Dutchesse of Bragance, he knew that making declaration by way of iustice , it might breed many inconueniences and troubles to the Realme , being alreadie exposed to manie dangers : And therefore he found no better course then to determine the succession by way of accord , if he should die before the King of Castil, for by that meanes he shoulde prouide for all things fit for the Realme , giuing satisfaction to him that shoulde haue the strongest pretention : And although the matter were still in doubt , yet the King had thought it the best course , as they shoulde well finde, and if they would consider thereof, being of such importance as his Highnes had thought it conuenient to impart it vnto them, and with their counsell to determine what shoulde be most necessarie, for the seruice of God and the profit of the Realme . That hee did recommend it vnto them, that with quietnes of mindes, and the onely respect of the diuine seruice and the common good, they shoulde treat and consider of this matter , giuing the King present knowledge of their opinions : This Ambassage did greatly alter the councell, who expected an Ambassage from the King , whether he would admit their demand concerning the election, and seeing they treated with them of a matter halfe ended , laying aside what the Ambassador had propounded, they resolued to send backe to the King to expostulate an answeare of their Ambassage, which done they profited no more then before : But to *Phebus Moniz* ( one of those which went, who possibly spake without respect ) the King made answeare, with great patience ; That he shoulde haue come accompanied with choller ; whereunto he replied, that it was reasonable, seeing his Highnes would giue the Realme vnto the Castilians : Let him giue it to any Portugall whosoeuer , they were all contented . The day following the Bishop returned to the assembly, and without any answer to the Deputies demaund, hee saide vnto them in the Kings behalfe ; That his Highnes vnderstood that some of the Councell were mistaken, supposing the accord whereof he had made mention should be

be betwixt the King of Castill, & the Duchesse of Bragance; which being contrarie, he thought it good to explaine his meaning, that the accord which he laboured, was betwixt the King of Castill and these Realmes, and to let them vnderstande that sentence was ready to be giuen in fauour of the king of Castill, and therefore they shoulde consider how much more fit it were to ende it by accord then by sentence, that they shoulde well consider of that which he had sent to be deliuered vnto them, for being a matter so important to the Realme, it was necessarie that all shoulde be capable. The Bishop being departed, many of the Deputies grewe in choler, some of them saying, that the Bilhop ( affected vnto Philip ) had forged this Embassage of himselfe, and that it was not credible, the King had deliuered it thus vnto him. Many spoke freely, and some sought to interrupt him before hee had ended, seeming vnto them that the king not answering their demaunde, made small account of this assemblie, saying, that he coulde be no iust iudge of this cause, seeing he had declared his intention: But weighing better if they should confess that he had pronounced it as a king and iudge, they were bound to obey, they beganne to say, he had made no declaration, holding it in suspence. They sent to the assemblie of the Clergie, to let them vnderstand what had passed, and to complaine, and to the King likewise, to demaundan awer, who ( answering them that he woulde sende ) did presse them to rest satisfied, and to commit the care of this resolution to some fewe of them; whereunto the Deputies woulde not agree, fearing least the authoritie of the pretenders might force them, or corrupt the judges, protesting openly that they woulde neither conuent nor accord with the Castillians: But King Henry seeing the Deputies obstinately forcing an awer to their demaund, finding he coulde neither drawe them to composition, nor to compreint the matter to fewe, fearing if hee shoulde pronounce the sentence, they woulde make some exception, resolued to make short, to graunt that which they demaunded: For which cause he sent backe the Bishop the thirde time, who with a more pleasing audience then before, saide vnto them in the kings behalfe. That seeing the accord he had propounded did not seeme pleasing vnto them as vnto his Highnes, he woulde make no other motion, but woulde admit them to pleade the interest they had in

the

*King Henry  
sick.*

*The death  
of King  
Henry.*

the Kings election, giuing them notwithstanding but two daies libertie to produce their reasons; The Deputies glad of this answere, sent to kisse the Kings hand for this fauour, crauing leauue to draw some auncient writings out of the Records, requiring more libertie of time, the which he would not graunt, referring them to the Soueraigne magistrate for the writings. The Portugals were puffed vp with hope, by this permission to elect a King at their owne pleasure, and therefore many more hastily then they should, declared themselves, protesting they would rather yeeld to any then to the Castilians: And not onely the common people, but many of the Nobilitie said the same, whereof manylshewing themselues too seditious, were banished the assemblies, whereas such as seconded the Kings will (besides the promises of the Catholike Kings Agents) were fauoured and rewarded by *Henrie*. The pretendents to the succession were discontented with the Kings inclination, some complayned, others dissembled: The Duke of Bragance relied greatly vpon his wiues Title: The Bishop of Parma comming to the assembly of States, complayned publikely of the King with graue wordes, to whom *Emanuell de Sosa* made a wise answere, assuring him of the Kings intent to doe iustice: whilst the matter stooede vpon these termes, the King grew so weake as he could not rise from his bed, giuing signes of a short life, yet did he not leauue to the hower of his death to prouide for all things necessarie. At that time the Duke of Bragance thought it fit to send *Katherine* his wife to Almerynt to visite *Henrie*, & to perswade him to declare her heire to the Crowne, the which he did, with small content to *Henrie* to whom she spake freely: This her comming (the Archbishop of Euora vnkle to the Duke, having at the same time giuen a prebend of the same church of great revenue to *Paul Alphonso*) bred matter of ialousie, in such as were affected to the Catholique King, who not knowing the qualitie of this Doctor, and the obedience, wherewith they keepe the Kings commaundements, charged him not to haue perfourmed such offices with the Dutchesse, as were conformable to *Henries* commission; who drawing neere vnto midnight passed into an other life, a thing woorthie to be noted, that he began to die in the beginning of the Ecclipsē of the moone, he died with the end thereto, as if that the celestiall signe had wrought that effect in him (being

ing a King of a weake bodie) which it doth not in stronger, or at the least, not so suddenly as Astrologians doe write; neither is the hower to be neglected, being the same wherein he was borne, 68. yeeres before. The religious which were at his death, saide, that he was alwaies talking: About ten of the clocke hee demaunded howe the time went, and being told, he desired some rest, and that they should call him before eleuen. So as being turned on the other side, he remained somtime, but being called by the Religious, he asked againe what it was a clocke & being answered that it was eleuen, O giue me (said he) that candell, for now my hower is come, and taking it in his hand, died soone after, hauing raigned seuenteen moneths: This was the last King of Portugall, in whom ended the direct masculine line: And as the first Lord of Portugall, although vnder the Title of an Earle was called *Henrie*, so doth it seeme the last should be so termed: He was thin of bodie, small of stature, and leane of his face; as *The life of Henry*. for his wit it was indifferent, indued, (besides the Latine tong,) with some knowledge. He was alwaies held to be chaste, and did never blemish this angelicall vertue, but with the desire of marriage in his latter daies: He was accounted sparing, giuing rather then denying, for he refused seldome, but he gaue sparingly; he was ambitious of all iurisdiction, as well Ecclesiasticall, as ciuil, zealous in Religion, and the faith, yet in the reformation of religious persons, he was more stricte then was conuenient. He was Bishop, Gouernour of the Realme, Inquisitor Maior, legate Apostolique, and King. But the more he mounted, the more he discouered his incapacitie; suffering himselfe in greatest matters to be ruled by his ministers, not being able to determine the cause of the succession. Opinions were grafted in him with great obstinacie, retayning a continual remembrance of wrongs, so as justice was in him but an iniust execution of his owne passions: and for this cause a religious man (whom he had pressed to take vpon him a most strict course of life) said vnto him, that he would obey, seeing there was no humaine helpe against his commandements, seeing he had the wil of a man, the authority of a Pope, & the execution of a king. Finally he was indued with great vertues & with fewer & lesse vices, yet were they equal, for he had the vertues of an Ecclesiasticall person, and the defects of a Prince: during his life, he was feared of many, and beloued of few, so as no man lamented

lamented his death, onely such as were well affected (desiring the cause had beene first decided before his decease) had some feeling. These things happened in Almeryn, where suddenly the fие named Gouernours did assemble to prouide for that, which should be necessarie, tearming themselues Gouernours and Protectors of the Realme of Portugal: But in this beginning, after the kings death they feared some mutinie of the people, both at Almeryn, and at Liskebone; neither did the gouernours themselues, nor the Catholique Kings Agents thinke themselues secure: They hated the assembly of the Deputies of the Realme, which were continued at Saint Arem, both for that they held it as a superiour councell, as also fearing it might cause some insurrection of the people, and therefore they did still abuse them with words differing from their meaninges: for which cause they sent *Martin Gonzalues de la Camera*, a gentleman of the church, who in the time of *Sebastian*, held the first place in the gouerment of the Realme, which he could not continue: for although he were not couetous of riches, but full of integritie, yet was he scuere and hard to be intreated, that they held him inexorable: Him they sent being a popular man and contrarie to the Catholike King, whose words they thought should be of more credit then any others: hauing particularly reported the Kings death, hee said that the Gouernours chosen at the last estates, began to looke vnto the government, and to giue order for things necessarie to the Realme: And although the death of King *Henrie* were a great losse, yet being in heauen, he would mediate for them, and that they should rest assured that with the greatest zeale and loue to their countrey they could, they would indeuour to doe iustice, as well to those of the Realme, in the pretention they had to the election, as also to the pretendentis to the succession: That they would deliuern all writings whereof they had neede, exhorting them to treat with peace, and loue, without causing of any mutinie, were it neuer so small, in any mans fauour; and for the better ordering of that which concerned the common good, they were well pleased they should put them in minde of any thing which they thought necessarie. Hauing ended this speech, all men keeping silence, *Phæbus Moniz* answered that they were all assured, that of the fие Gouernours three were suspect: for when the King laboured to bring the States to make

agreement

*The regen-  
cie of the  
gouernors.*

*Martin  
Gonzalues  
sent to the  
deputies of  
the Realme.*

*The depu-  
ties an-  
swere to  
Manzim.*

agreement with King Philip, they were not onely conformable to the will of Henrie, but did vrge them, and commended this resolution without respect of the libertie of the Realme, seeking onely to please the Kings humour, and their owne interest: which being, it was not reasonable to suffer such suspected Gouernours, whom they were not bound to obey, and this was the opinion of them all. Martin replied that he was not of opinion they should then alter any thing, for in steed of helping, they should heape danger vpon danger, and trouble vpon trouble, that for a while, they should be lookers on, and if in time they should finde the Gouernours not to doe their dutie as they ought, they might then helpe with the same remedie, seeing they had alwaies authoritie to doe it: whereunto, although Phabus Moniz answered, that this remedie could not alwaies be applied, for that the councel could not stil be vnted, for the great charges they were at; yet the reasons of Martin Gonzalues were of such force, that they resolued not to alter the Gouernours, as a matter scandalous, but accepting what they had sent to be said vnto them, that they shold advise what they thought necessarie, they began suddenly to set downe in writing such Articles as they would haue perfourmed by the Gouernours: The which were, that lea-  
The resolution of Gon-  
zalues, am-  
bassage.  
ving the aboade at Almerin they shold goe to Saint Areui, to be  
neerer neighbours, more in quiet and in greater safetie; that for the  
auoiding of charge and scandall, they shold discharge the Souldiers as vnnescessarie: That presently they shold sende Ambassa-  
dors to the Catholique King, that as Gouernours of the Realme,  
they would do iustice to the pretendents in the cause of succession,  
the which his Maiestie shold beleeue, not suffering within his  
Realme any attempt against Portugall: That they shold present-  
ly prouide for the fortresses of the Realme, as well vpon the sea, as in  
other places, sending trustie Captaines, garrisons, and necessarie  
munition, and to euerie Prouince men of great authoritie, to force  
men to defend and succour the weaker parts, that they shold send  
some vnto his holines, giuing him to understand the Kings death,  
their succession to the gouernment of the Realme, for the defence  
thereof against any one that would vsurpe it, contrarie to equitie,  
against the sentence which shold be pronounced touching the suc-  
cession, beseeching him to write to the Catholique King to rest sa-  
tisfied,

”tisfied, and to be bound to stand to iudgement; They did vrge them  
”to take information by way of Iustice, against those, that in the cause  
”of succession did suborne with promises of money & honours, and  
”also such as were suborned, hauing knowledge that there were ma-  
ny such: Whereunto the gonernors answered, that they would pre-  
fently depart from Almeryn, but whither; it was not expedient then  
to say, and that it shoulde be conformable to the demaund of the  
citie of Lisbone. They saide that they woulde not discharge the  
souldiers being leuied by the commandement of King *Henry*, for  
the guard of his Court, and of the pretendents: That some hauing  
refused to carrie this Embassage i. to Castill, yet in the ende they  
had chosen *Gaspard de Casale*, Bishop of Coimbra, and *Emanuel de Melo* who prepared to go: That alreadie they had commaunded  
al Captaines to remaine in their fortresses, & where there were none  
they were prouiding, as also of armes, both in the fortresses vpon  
the riuier, as in all other prouinces: That it seemed not necessarie to  
send to Rome, but if king *Phi* made shewe to stirre, they woulde  
beseech his holines, to doe as he hath beene accustomed, and that  
they woulde proceede with all the rigour against such as shoulde be  
found culpable in the matter of subornation. Now had the Agents  
of the Catholique king sent newes into Castill, of King *Henry* his  
death, and were remaining still at Almerin, fearing some alteration:  
but this people accustomed to a heauie yoke, without knowledge of  
libertie did not stirre. The Duke of Bragance saide vnto the Gou-  
uernours, that he was readie to obey, and that they shoulde proceed  
to sentence for the succession: He sent to the Duke of Ossuna, and  
the Catholique Agents, willing them not to feare any thing, that  
he woulde assure them from danger, offering them his lodging, the  
like did the Gouernors.

*Anthonies  
course to  
obtaine the  
Crown.*

Whilst these things passed in Almerin, *Anthony Prior of Crato*,  
who at the Kings death was not far from thence, ran vnto Lisbone,  
lodging himselfe in a garden neere vnto the citie: he did write vnto  
the Magistrate of the chamber, and to many of the chiese, signifying  
vnto them that hee was there, and that they shoulde come vnto  
him: The which the Magistrate vnderstanding disdained, sending  
him worde that he shoulde retire, but making no reckoning there-  
of, he sent both into the citie and places of pleasure thereabouts,

some

some of his followers, who, both in priuate and in publike gaue our, that the king was dead, and that the Prior expected them there, beleeuing by that meanes (for the affection the people bare him) they woulde all iointly proclame him king: which being done in that citie (which is the principall) all the rest of the Realme (for he was greatly beloued) would follow their example, yet he was soone deceiued. And this may serue as an example to those which relie too much vpon the vulgar sort, for there was not any one that durst come vnto him but in secret; and as for gentlemen there were none by reason of the plague: As for the new Christians which are there in great number (whereof a part was likewise abroad) they wanted courage, and being rich, feared to doe that which might cause the losse of their goods. The people (most base) of themselues had no commander, that could mooue them or lead them, so as hauing labored by diuers meanes to draw men to his deuotion, & finding his practise not to succeed, hauing spent some time there, he went to the Monasterie of Belem, from whence he did write to the Council of States, with words more conformable to the qualitie of time, then his intention, saying, That hauing intelligence of the death of the King his Lord, vnderstanding likewise that his bodie should be transported to that Monasterie, and that not to faile of his dutie, he was come thither to attend it, seeing he could not be in time to accompanie it, the which he had done that perfourming this last office, he might doe them the seruice he ought: but vnderstanding that he was not brought thither, he had assissted the fathers in their sacrifices and deuotions recommending him vnto God: And as a true Portugall, and mindfull of the bond, which (as sonne and nephewe to his father and grandfather) he had to the quiet and preseruation of these Realmes, he thought it good to aduertise them, that he was readie to expose for this cause, not onely his life, and receiveue the lawes which they should please to lay vpon him, but also in all present occasions to liue in submission & due obedience, not any way transgressing their commissions: He protested to shew the innocencie of those erymes imposed vpon him in the sentences, which it had pleased his vnkle to pronounce against him togither with the interest hee had to the succession of the Realme: Hee promised to yeeld himselfe into their hands and protection, relying vpon those

*Anthony  
his letters to  
the states of  
Almerin.*

*The States  
answere to  
Anthony,  
and his ar-  
rival.*

„ persons, who by the special grace of God in so afflicted a season, had been chosen as a remedie to restore this Realme, referring himselfe for the rest to *Lewis de Brito* who should deliuere it by mouth: To this letter the which was receiued in councell, cōtrarie to the aduise of some who said it ought not to be accepted, *Brito* added that the Prior would be there with speede, that they should cōmāund where they pleased he should lodge: They answered that he might come when he pleased, yet they would not intermeddle with his lodging, but leaue it to his owne choice: But almost all in generall were pleased with his cōming. He staied not long but presently vpon his arriuall, he presented the Popes Bull containing the suspension of the Kings sentence, he began to renue the pretention of his legitimation (without the finall decision wherof they said they could not treat of the succession) wanting no hope to obtaine by the councell of States that which before he did expect from the multitude at Lisbone: The Deputies of the Realme did assemble daily at Saint Arem; without effecting any thing of importance: They spent some daies onely in sending to visit the pretendents, and their deputies, & to make vnto them offers of iustice, and likewise to receiue from them thanks for their good dispositions, wherin all laboured to shew themselues protectors of the libertie of the Realme, and most of all such as least desired it: And for that the going and comming to Almeryn was very incōmodious, being forced to passe the water without a bridge, that by this reason in communicating the affaires to the rest of the States, that is, to the Cleargie and nobilitie, & by treating with the Gouernours they lost much time, it was propounded in council to reduce all together, yet could they not effect it, for manie of the Deputies began to want money for their ordinarie charges, desiring rather to be dismissed, then vnitied: They desired to depart, saying, that they were not furnished frō their cities, but as they were not discharged, so were they not relieved with money: & although *Balthasar de Faria* Deputie of Barcellos, the Pryor of Saint Stevens, and the Bishop of Parma, euerie one apart did offer money to such as wanted, that the assembly might not be dissolved, yet the Deputies vnfurnished would not accept thereof, not willing to be bound in their owne proper names, for that their cities were bound to furnish them: Besides in this assembly the opinions were diuers & few inclined to fa-  
avour

uour the pretention of the Catholike king; many knew not what to resolute, & a great part were affected to the Prior, but all in generall feared the Gouernors & mistrusted their proceedings, so as besides the aduertisements they sent daily vnto them, they did solicite the execution, making new demaunds & pressing them aboue al to discharge the soldiers: They demanded a copie of the authority to gouerne left them by King *Henrie*, & the words of his will which concernes the point of succession, the which were wholy deliuered vnto them; his wil was made 8.moneths before, & cōtained these words:

Seeing at the time of my will making I haue no descendents directly to succeed to the Crowne of these realmes, and haue called my ne-  
The clause  
of King  
Henries  
testament.  
phewes which may pretend, and haue put the matter of succession in Justice, I do not at this time declare who shall be my successor, but leauing it vnto him to whom by right it shall appertaine, & him I doe declare my heire & successor, except that before my decease, I shall name him that hath this interest: And therefore I command all men within these my realmes of what quality soeuer, that prestely after I or the iudges appointed shal haue narr.ed him, to acknowledge him for heir & lawful successor, & so to obey him. There followed many other words in recōmendation of iustice & religiō, but they serued not to this purpose. And although his wil contained these words, yet they say the King at his death would haue refourmed it, & declared the Catholike king successour of the realme: But the Gouernors desirous to hold the gouernment for a time in their own hands, did diuert him, saying, That whether he made any declaration or not, no other then the Catholike king could succeed both by law & force: that it was not expediēt to nominate him, to the end that the realme might with greater aduantage capitulate & agree with him: Many supposed that they did not dissuade the king from this declaration so much for these reasons, as fearing it would breed som popular sedition to their hurt, being held as autors of the said declaration. The limitation which he had left to the Gouernors contained, that they could not create Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Barons, Bishops, nor Archibishops, nor giue any commandery nor reuenue which passed 125.duckats: But in matters of war & revolutions they might doe & giue any thing with the aduise of the councel & not otherwise. The deputies being satisfied with these writings, whilst they debated the

*The speach  
of the De-  
puties of Por-  
talegre.*

reasons of their pretended election, Stephen Lopez Doctor & deputy of Portalegre, spake publikely amongst them, who hauing shewed how fit it were to giue God thanks for the quiet they now enioyed, said it was not necessary to continue so many deputies stil together, "with so much trouble & so great charege, that they should be reduced vnto few, & the rest returne to their houses. And for as much as they were aduertised that the Catholique King began to arme, they should surcease from the cause of succession, vntill the said King had dismissed his forces, and the preparatives for war he had made, for by that meanes the free libertie to treat of the cause, and for the pretenders to alleage their interest was taken away : That by the suspension of the cause, they shall discouer the Catholique Kings disposition in laying aside armes : If he doe it, it shall breed these good effects : That in the meane time they shall haue leisure to prouide for things necessarie, to gather in the fruits of the earth, and the pretenders shall liue in peace and quiet : if he refuse it ( which we ought not to beleue of so Christian a Prince ) then shall they be satisfied, and both the States and the pretenders (united in one bo die,) may the better defend themselues, and when as all things were quietly settled, then to determine the cause, disabling notwithstanding before all things, the saide Catholique King (who vsing force when as iustice is offered him) for being King of these Realmes : And this he said was the disposition of the lawe, that in the meane time they should commaund the Pretenders to the Crowne to make their residence in diuers places, the one at Elues, and the other at Begia, as fronter townes, swearing not to attempt any thing one against the other. The reasons of this Doctor as a man of small account were not followed, but the councell being resolued with two others of the States to send six Deputies to Almerin to treat of matters of importance with the Gouvernours : Thither they sent them with instructions different from this fournie of speech, videlicet, that the Gouvernours should passe to Saint Areni, and there make their residence to take a view what armes, men, and munition the citie of Lisbone had for their defence, & to supply what wanted, to take notice what Captaines be appointed in the fortresses vpon the riuier of Lisbone, and being suspected, or not valiant, to place others with men and other necessaries : That they should send armes to all cities

*The states  
send to the  
Gouvernours.*

cities of the Realme, and traine vp their men with exercise thereof; that they shoulde beseech the Pope by his Ambassadours to perswade all the pretendentes to take the course of iustice, and lay aside armes vpon paine to loose the interest they pretend, requiring that *Emanuell de Portugal* purveyor of the fortresses of the Realme might be restored to the same office, whereof the King had suspended him, and that they shoulde do the like to *Diego Salema*, and to *Aluaro de Moraes* in their offices in the Chamber of Lisbone: And for that they found themselues to bee vnfurnished, they would haue all the ships & vessels staied throughout all the ports of the realme for the conducting of things necessarie for the war. The Gouernors made but a cold answere to these demands, as they had done before to all others, saying, that being matters of so great importāce they would consider of them first, & then aduertise them what should be done.

The *Cheriffe* had as it is said before in the life of King *Henrie*, and at the instance of the Catholique King deliuered the Duke of Barcellos, who hauing passed the streight to returne into Portugall, being arriued at Gibralter where (as afierwardes at Saint Lucar) the Duke of Medina Sidonia Lord of those places did him great honour, by meanes whereof he spent sometime in sports: At this time The Duke of Barcellos detained by the Duke of Medina Sidonia. the newes comming of King *Henries* death, the Duke of Medina thought it a matter importing the Catholique King, to detaine the saide Duke of Barcellos as eldest sonne to the Duke of Bragance, and of *Katherine* chiefe pretendent to the Realme, vntill the cause of the succession were decided, so as the sports before shewed vnto the saide Duke in courtesie were now redoubled for this other intent, detayning him exprely, vntill he might receiue answere from the King, so as shewing him first one place, and then another, this yoong Prince was taken vnawares: But the Duke of Medina hauing staied certaine carriages, vnder colour to shew him some feastes, he then conceived the cause of his detaining, and wrote foorthwith vnto his father in Portugall, that he shoulde not then expect him, and that his detention should not any way prejudice the rights of the Realme, preferring iustice before his owne life: This letter being come into Portugall was by the Duke his father sent vnto the assembly of the States, shewing on the one side a grieve for the detayning of his sonne, and on the other side a contentment,

that in so yong an age, he was so great a louer of his countreys good, offering if need were to sacrifice him for the seruice of the Realme: Yet this feare of the Dukes continued not long, for hauing written to his son that he should labour to come away, or they should make declaration of his staie, he was suffered freelie to depart; for so the King had commaunded. Some say that *Philip* had long before this consideration, hauing meanes to stay him, not onely in Spaine, but also in Affrique, but fearing to incense the Portugals, and desirous to make the Duke his friend, he had procured his release in Affrick, and suffered him safely to depart from Andoluzia into Portugall: yet the said Duke of Barcellos or his father, by whose commaundement he was directed, was noted of some ingratitude, for being invited by *Philip* to passe by his court as desirous to see him, the iealousie of the State of these Realmes preuayled so much that he did not satisfie his desire, but tooke his direct way to Villauizosa, fearing perhaps a new detention.

*The diligence of the  
catholicque  
King to as-  
sure his con-  
science for  
the Realms  
of Portugall.*

These things passed in Portugall when as in Castill the Catholique King beeinge aduertised by his Agents of the death of King *Henrie*, of the small affection the Portugals bare vnto him, of the liuely pretention of *Anthoine* and other pretendents, and to what estate the matter was brought, was greatly discontented, seeming he should be forced to take armes for the obtaining of the conclusion of his interest. But desirous to satisfie his conscience in the effecting thereof, he had formerly the advise of *Diego de Chianes* of the order of preaching Fryers, being his confessor, and of some other principall Diuines of that order, and yet not well satisfied with their opinions, least he should feeme onely to follow the advise of the dominical Fryers; he desired likewise to treat with other orders of religious persons, and to that intent he sent one to acquaint the chiefe Deuines in Spaine with the cause, and to demaund their advise: This care perfourmed, not only with the chiefe prelates and readers in Diuinitie, but with the Iesuits and the Fryers of Saint *Francis*, all agreeed that the Kings right being so apparant he was not bound to represent it otherwise then out of iudgement to King *Henrie*, as he had done, and to make his councell and the rest of the Realme of Portugall capable thereof, such as with sincerite of hart would vnderstand the truth, and by the mildest meanes, procure (as he

he had done) that *Henry* should declare him successor, & if these diligent proceedings were not sufficient to perswade the King and the Realme; that then *Philip* had sufficiently iustified his cause, and that he might assure himselfe by armes, without thrusting the succession (which was due vnto him) into euident perill, his person being as it is saide, soueraigne, exempt, and free from all reprehension, and onely bound to iustifie his right before God, and to signifie it to the King and the Realme, saying, that this point was now without all doubt, since the death of *Henrie*, no man liuing that could pretend any interest in the decision of the cause. It appertained not to the Pope, being a matter wholy temporall, nor agreeing with the circumstances, which may giue him any right ouer temporall matters; and lesse to the Emperour, beeing no way acknowledged by the Realmes of Castill and Portugall, and much lesse to certaine Judges named by *Henrie*, for besides that he could not choose any after his death, they were now become the materiall partie, and the thing it selfe whereon they pleaded: Besides that all the Realme was become insufficient, when as making themselues a partie, they pretended power to choose a Prince, & although all this ceased, yet would they prooue that no Portugall but was suspect in this cause, & to be excepted against for the manifest hatred they bare to the Castilian nation: They found likewise that he was not bound to submit himselfe to any compromise; for besides the difficultie and impossibilitie to finde a trustie person in so dangerous and iealous a cause as this is, the bond of compromise is not incident but in a matter of doubt, and the definition of doubt is when as the aduocate and Doctors conclude, not for any partie finding equiualent reasons for either: but in this, all being of one agreement, the cause is not doubtful nor to be compremitted.

The King being resolued to take armes (hauing no possession deliuered vnto him) prouided for it, for this cause he writ to the gouernors, to the three estates, and to the fve principall cities, to all of one subiect, but in diuerse formes; after he had lamented the death of his vncle, he required them to receaue and sweare him King, as King *Henry* had resolued, and declared him to be; he thanked the nobility and clergie for their good affection showne, when as *Henrie* had said that the succession appertained vnto him; he made

*The Cas-  
tiane Kings  
prepara-  
tives a-  
gainst Por-  
tugall.*

made offer to all and threatned cunhingly; he sent to the gouernors a copie of the priuiledges which King Henry had required in the behalfe of the Realme, offering to graunt them more ample than they had bene demaunded, protesting, if they would not obey to vse force: But all these things were receiued and reiecte according to the humors of men. The gouernors made aunswere they could not resolute vntill the retурne of their Ambassadours which they had sent vnto them: At this time there was readie at sea as well in Spaine as in Italie about threescore galleis, (whereof *Aluaro de Bassan* Marques of Saint Croix was generall) the which should saile

*The duke of Alua chosen generall of the army into Portugall.* towards Portugall, as the occasion of the time shoulde serue; there was yet no generall named for this enterprise, and euerie man gree-dilie expected who shoulde be chosen, for that few were thought fit for so great a burthen. The Duke of *Alua* was generallie held most sufficient, yet few beleueed that the King would willingly free him from prison: the Marques of Mondegia (who was returned from the gouernment of Naples) affected this charge, & many beleueed he shoulde preuaile, in recompence of the discontentment he had to be drawen from Italy: Many beleueed the King would goe to this war in person, both for the inclination they see in him, as for some other signes which were apparant, for he not only caused his armes and pauillions to be readie, but also commaunded *Ferrant de Silva* *Conte de Cifuentes*, *Guidon Maior* of Castill with the Standard Royall to furnish himself; the which in that Realme is not accustomed to be carried, but in the Squadron where the King is in person: but in this case it behoued him to remaine irresolute, and to gouerne himselfe according to the necessitie and occasions which time should discouer: In this hope of things the King commaunded a Secretarie of the councell of warre to write to the Duke of *Alua*, demaunding of him if he were able to serue in this enterprise, whereunto making answere that in that which concerned his Maestie, he never made reckoning of his health, hee was commaunded to prepare himselfe within three daies and to goe to the campe, the which he putting in execution, he went to Barrazas, a village ten miles from the court, (which was at Madrill,) hauing no leaue to come thither: but that which caused admiration, the king hauing at the same time caused the Prince *Diego* his sonne to be sworne by all the estates in a Chap-

*The Catholique Kings Letters to the Duke of Alua.* pell,

pell, although with ordinarie ceremonies, yet with lesse pompe then  
of custome, did not admit the saide Duke to the oath, being so neere  
and so great a personage: He did neither write vnto him, nor treated  
with him concerning these warres but long after: So as the  
Duke marching with the armie, finding himselfe not fully re-  
leased from the prison wherein he had beeene, saide that the King  
had sent him to conquer Realmes, drawing after him chaines and  
fetters; such was the feueritie of Philip, and the obedience of so great  
a minister: All Spaine was pleased with this election, for besides the  
deliuery of the Duke which followed, they esteemed not the va-  
lour of their soldiers, without a Commandeer to their mindes, and  
in the Dukes person they helde any armie good. The Generall be-  
ing dispatched, the King prouided all things for his iourney into  
Portugall, he caused a daughter borne at that time, to be secretly  
baptized, and hauing made the saide prince of Castill to be sworne  
(without calling, or the presence of *Ferrant de Sylua*, to his great dis-  
contentment) the King went to Guadalupa, being now the time of  
Lent, vnder colour to performe the obsequies of King *Henry* there,  
and so to draw neere vnto Portugall to giue encouragement to his  
affaires; and thus did he write to all the principall cities in Spaine.  
He departed from Madrill in coach almost all alone without giuing  
order for the Queenes departure, or for the officers of his Courte,  
notwithstanding cherishing her dearely. After he had passed two  
daies ( seeming conuenient, and a great signe of amitie that being  
now to enter into Portugall) he shoulde be accompanied with his  
Queene, he called her vnto him. The Duke was now gone to Gli-  
erenra where a part of his armie lay, being in farre lesser numbers  
then had beeene leuied, for that discommodities and sicknesse had  
consumed many, and many places were voide by the Captaines  
pollicie, being in all but fower thousand fие hundredth Italians,  
three thousand fие hundredth Germanes, and three thousand Spa-  
niards come out of Italy, and other seauen thousand newly raised,  
with fifteene hundredth horse, which being a body long before pre-  
pared, for a matter so well foreseen, seemed to him but small. But  
the Duke trusting more to the qualitic then the quantitie of his sol-  
diers, desired to haue them fewer, and of more experience, and  
these seemed in a manner all without knowledge, and therefore the

*The Cabo-  
lique King  
goes towards  
Portugall.*

*The Duke  
of Alva  
arrives at his  
Army.*

*The mem-  
bers of the  
Dukes Ar-  
my.*

King

*The coming of the Ambassadours from the gouernors to the Catholique King, and their negotiation.*

King at his entreatie commanded, that all the soldiers which were come out of Flaunders into Italy, should passe into Spaine, being such whom he knew, and had tried in the warres, yet they arrived not in time but returned backe. The Duke saide that surmounting the enimie in horse, he would vndertake this warre with twelue thousand foote well experienced, neither did he value the great number of the Portugals which assembled, as it was giuen out, making reckoning to waste them by policie, & to conquer them without battaile. The King being come to Guadalupa, there arriuied the Bishop of Coimbra and *Emanuel de Melo* Embassadours from the Gouernours of Portugall. The King with his Councell were doubtfull in what sort to honor them, some would haue them treated like subiects, without respecting them as Embassadours: Others  
 » would not haue any thing altered of the ordinarie course obserued  
 » in those causes; yet not to discourage them, it was resolued they  
 » should be heard as Embassadours with their heads couered, and that  
 » the King should put off his hat, yet the King had written before to  
 » the Gouernours, that he would treat with their Commissaries as with  
 » subiects. These laboured by a long speech to perswade the King to lay aside armes: they saide that King *Henry* had greatly desired to end the question of succession, by the ordinarie course of iustice, but that death had preuented him: he had in the States held at Lisbone in the yeere 1579. not onely chosen Gouernors and defenders of the Realme, but the States had also named fower & twentie Judges, (whereof the King had chosen eleuen) to iudge definitiuely the cause of succession, if he died before the effecting it; the which after hapned, and that the matter being brought to that passe, the realme remained quiet and peaceable, resolute to obey, and acknowledge for their Lord and King, him in whose fauour sentence should be giuen, conformable to the oath which the whole Realme had taken in the said estates: the which was after ministred to the same Gouernors in the great church at Lisbone, when as the coffer (which contained the nomination) was opened, and therefore they were readie to administer iustice, and to acknowledge for King, him vnto whom the realme shoulde be iudged by right to appertaine: and being thus affected, they beseeched his maiestie to command his embassadours to assist iudicially to the cause in the conclusion thereof:

of: But the King being assured of his right, prouided of forces, and seeming no blot to his conscience, made answere that he was well pleased with the shew of zeale to the publike good of these realmes, and that he was perswaded that what they had propounded, proceeded from a good inclination: that he would haue bin glad their demand had bin such as he might haue satisfied them, the which he wil do alwaies in matter that shall be iust, & tending to the generall or particular good of these realmes. But the equitie of his cause being so apparent to the world, & remaining no lawfull or competent iudge, they neither ought nor could performe the oath which they saide they had taken, seeing it were an apparent preiudice to his title, and a damage to his owne realnes: and therefore he entreated them presently to resolute, to receiue and sweare him for their king and lord, as God would haue it, they themselues knowing ( chiefly touching this matter ) what king *Henry* thought, determined, and had resolued, and the bond whereby they were tied to obey his will: in dooing whereof he woulde grant vnto the realme not onely the priuileges which he had set downe ( the which the Duke of Ossuna should offer in his name ) but any other they should require, being just and reasonable, & hoping they woulde take that course which was to be expected from wise men, and Christians, he would continue his determination. The Embassadors seemed not satisfied with this answere, but demanding leaue to impart it to the Gouernors, they accompanied the king vntill he came to Merryda.

Now were the Gouernors in Portugall ( wearied with the Court-  
The conclusion of the  
council of the States ) desirous to dissolve them, and hauing first requi-  
red a prolonging of the gouernment the King had left vnto them,  
and not obtaining it, they did signifie vnto them that the States  
were ended, & that the Deputies might returne to their houses, lea-  
ving only ten of them to treat of matters which should fal out, for so  
small a number might lodge any where, being now forced to leaue  
Almeryn, and to take some small place neere the citie of Lisbone,  
being greatly entreated thereunto: but the Deputies ( who had sent  
*John de Noghera* to the Vniuersitie of Coimbra, to studie the point  
of their preterded election ) hauing received answer that the election  
belonged to the States of the realme, they woulde by no meanes  
be disfolued, perswaded thereunto by the bishop of Parma, the

Prior

Prior, the chamber of Saint Arem , and many particulars, offring money to supply their wants : but they opposed in vaine. For al- though they had sent to the Gouernors to alleage their reasons in law, labouring to prooue that the States were not to be dissoluued, & that their procurations were of force; yet the Gouernors did againe disable them, saying, their authorities were of no force , so as many began to separate themselues , and returne to their houses. The Gouernors prepared to defend themselues, for although the greatest part of them were not of that opinion ; yet to content the people, and to please the other Gouernors and gentlemen of the popular faction , it behoued them so to do. For this cause they armed their gallions , they brought armes from other countries, they mustred men for the warre , they sent gentlemen throughout all the prouinces of the realme, and laboured to employ such as ( contrarie to the Catholique Kings faction being present ) hindered their resolutions, who willingly accepted of these charges , seeming to haue greater confidence in them then in any other. *Diego de Meneses* was sent into the prouince beyond Tagus ; *John de Vasconcellos* into Beira ; *Emanuel* of Portugall into the mouth of Tagus ; and many other to diuers parts of the Realme : *George de Meneses* had charge of the armie at sea ; so as they were all dispersed, and the Gouernors had good meanes to effect their desires : yet *Martyn Gonzales de la Camera*, no lesse popular then the rest, remained in court, of whom the Gouernors grew iealous, that hauing imployed him as a mediator betweene them and the States of the realme , he was become a superior. But the prouision and preparatiues that were made ( although some vsed all care and diligence ) seemed rather done for shew and fashion sake then to any effect.

*The manner  
of the enter-  
prise of Por-  
tugall.*

In Castill they discoursed vpon the manner of this enterprise, seeming impossible vnto the Duke to gather togither so many carriages as was necessarie for the conduct of victuals and munition, and therefore devised to transport his forces by sea : He determined with few men to keepe them busied in Extremadure to diuert them, and vnder colour to hasten the armie, to march towards Andelouzia, and speedily to imbarke his soldiers at Saint Marie Port, to assaile the entrie of the mouth of Lisbone , in despite of all the fortresses that were there : making account to loose some ships which

which should by chaunce touch. But receiuing certaine aduertisement, by men expressly sent into Portugall, that there was aboue six thousand chariots to be founde, he left this dangerous resolution, more for the regard of the sea then the enimies. He determined to march to Settuual thinking it necessary to win a port of the sea of so great importance, for the harboring of the nauie : for cōming thither laden with viſtuals, & he not able to carrie with him by land aboue a moneths prouision, it seemed necessarie to ioine the forces & prouisions of the sea to them of the land, and that therein consisted the victorie : with this resolution he went to Merrida , where the King remained, of whom being received with a cheerefull countenance, they treated what course the armie should take. There grew ſome diuersitie of opinion betwixt the Duke and ſome others, who ( perfwaded by ſome confident Portugals ) would haue the armie march to Almeryn, and there paſſe Tagus at a foord, or at Saint Arem vp-on bridges : that they ſhould force that place being but weake, and ſo they might paſſe ſafely to the wals of Libleone, the which without attending any batterie would yeeld preſently, or ( it may be ) before their arriuall : for taking from them the viſtuals from the plaines of Saint Arem, they ſhould not onely besiege them by famine, but they ſhoulde ſo furnish their armie with corne, that they ſhoulde haue no neede of prouision from the fleete, the which they ſhould better receiveue at Libleone then at Settuual , without hazarding the entreprize, and the armie by the dangers of diſembarking, which( going to Settuual ) they muſt be forced to do againſt the forts vpō the mouth of the riuier, and with loſſe of time in winning of them : This opinion ſeemed ſo grounded, that it required no leſſe authoritie or arte to diſprooue then the Dukes , who being chiefe of this entreprize, and to hazard his reputation, drew the King to his opinion. Philip had likewiſe enuironed (as a man may ſay) all the realme of Portugall with armes, though not with mercenarie ſoldiers, yet with ſuch as they coulde assemble together; he commanded all Noblemen, whose liuings ioined to the confines of this realme, that hauiung enrolled the greateſt number of their ſubiects able to beare armes, they ſhoulde be readie at his commandement, yet in the meane time they ſhoulde receiveue gently in his name the cities and ſubiects of Portugall that woule obey him. In Gallicia Peter de

*Castro Earle of Lemos, and Gassbard de Fonsequa Earle of Monteré had the charge: against the prouince behinde the mountaines, John Pimentel Earle of Benneuent, and Diego de Tolledo Earle of Alua: In Estremadura, Beltramo dels Cuenas, Duke of Albequerque, and Ferrant Anriques Marquesse of Villa Noua: against Vera, John Pacheco Marquesse of Seraluo; and in Algarues, Frauncis de Suniga*

*The state of the Duke of Alua his armie.*

*In the armie where the Duke of Alua was commander of all, both at sea and at land, the places were thus deuided: The Italians had three coronels, Prosper Colonna, Vincent Caraffa, and Charles Spinelli, ha-  
uing for Generall Peter de Médicy, brother to Frauncis the great Duke of Tuscaine, with whom was sent by the saide great Duke Leves d'Uara, whom the King had made one of his Councillers at warre. Sanchez d'Anila was Lord Marthall of the field: There was no commaunder of the horse, the Captaines being all Noblemen and men of account, they could not conueniently make them subiect to any one of their companions, the place requiring a man of such qualitie, as he coulde not be inferior to the Duke, and superior to the saide Captaines, although after in time of necessitie Ferrant of Toledo, sonne to the saide Duke, was made their leader: Count Jerome of Lodron commaunded the Germaines, Frauncis d'Allaua had his ordinarie charge as Generall of the artillerie, but although the preparations were brought to this point, yet the King daily pro-  
tested by his ministers to the Gouernors, of the inconueniences of the warre, if they deliuered not the realme in peace vnto him; nei-  
ther did they cease to treate many things in Portugall concerning an agreement, & for that the King rather desired to shew his forces, then to vse them, to conquer by gentlenes then by rigor, he offred vnto the realme many graces and priuileges deliuering him peace-  
able possession, and the Gouernors (the greatest part whereof en-  
clined thereunto) had alreadie debated with the Agents of the Ca-  
tholique King, what conditions the King shoulde graunt vnto the realme, the which were published by the Duke of Ossuna, and signed with his hand, offring that the King shoulde graunt them, in giuing him the crowne, and they were these: That the King should take a formall oath to obserue all the customes, priuileges, and li-  
berties, graunted to these realmes by the Kings his predecessors:*

*The condic-  
ons that the  
Catholique  
King offred*

*That*

That when there shall be neede to assemble the States for the af-  
faires of Portugall, it shall be done within the realme, and that in no other assemblie of States whatsocuer: They shall neither propound nor resolute vpon any matter concerning these realmes: That appointing a Viceroy to governe, or any persons with what title soever, they shall be Portugals. The like is to be understood in sending of a Visitor or Judge, with this condition notwithstanding, for as much as concernes the authoritie of the realmes, and to do them a greater fauour, his maiestie and his successors may send for Vice-roy or Gouernour one of the bloud royll, be he sonne, vncle, brother, cosen, or nephew to the King: Besides, that all superior officers or inferior, belonging either to iustice, or to the reuenewes of the crowne, shall be distributed to Portugals, and not to strangers: That all offices which haue beene in the times of former kings both of the court, and of the realme, shall be bestowed vpon the naturall borne, such as shall deserue the same when as his Maiestie or his successors shall enter into the realme: And the like is to be vnderstood of all other dignities of what qualitie soever, either at sea or lande, which are at this present, or shall be heereafter created: The garrisons which shall remaine in any forts, shall be Portugals. Moreouer they saide that the traffike of the Indies, Ethiopia, and other places, appertaining to these realmes, being discouered, or to discouer, shall not be dismembred from the same, neither shall there be any other alteration made then is at this present: And that the officers and their ships which shall be employed in these traffikes, shall be Portugals, and shall saile in the ships of Portugall. That the golde and silver which shall be coined in these realmes and their dependancies, and all that which shall come from those prouinces, shall be coined with the armes of Portugall without any other addition. That all Bishopricks, abbeies, benefices, and pensions shall be giuen to Portugals: And the like is to be vnderstode of the office of Inquisitor, Maior of commaunderies, of the offices of militarie orders, of the Priorie of Crato: and finally of all other ecclesiasticall liuings, as hath beene formerly spoken of the temporall. He did yeelde there shoulde be no thirds exacted of ecclesiasticall goods, neither subsidies nor croyses, and that for any of these causes they should procure no bulls: That they shoulde not giue either citie, towne, place,

» place, iurisdiction, nor roiall prerogatiue to other then to Portugals: And falling any vacancie of the liuings of the crowne, his Maiestie nor his successors should not reteine them for themselves, but giue them to the kinsman of him that did enjoy him, or to other Portugals that shall deserue them: Provided alwaies that the Castillians and strangers which now liue in these realmes, and haue beene seruitors to the Kings deceased, shall not be excluded: That in militarie orders nothing shal be altered of the state it now stands in: That gentlemen shall be paide their pensions amounting to twelue yeeres, and that his Maiestie and his successors shall yeerely entertaine into his seruice two hundred Portugals, to whom he shal giue that paie which they call Moradia; and those which haue no title of gentlemen shall serue in the warres of the realme: That when his Maiestie or his successors, shall come into those realmes, they shall not take vp their lodgings as they vse in Castill, but shall obserue the custome of Portugall. Moreouer his Maiestie in what place souuer he shall be, shall carrie with him a man of the Church, a Superintendent of the reuenewes of the crowne, a high Chauncellor, and two Disambarcadours of the court, which iointly shall be called the Councell of Portugall, by whose meanes all matters shall be dispatched, with them shall go to clarkes of the reuenewes, and two of the chamber, for all occasions incident to their charge, all shall bee written in the Portugall toong, and all shall be Portugals: And when his Maiestie or his successors shall come into Portugall, he shall retaine the saide Councell and officers, which shall be vnted to such as shall treate of the gouernment of the realme: That all correctors and other officers of iustice, with all other inferior offices, shall in the Kings absence be disposed of in the realme, as they be at this present: & the like shall be vnderstood of the officers of purveyors, auditors of the reckonings, and others of the like qualitie, concerning the reuenewes of the crowne: He declared likewise, that all causes and charges appertaining to iustice of what qualitie or summe soever, should be definitiuely ended and executed in these realmes, as they be at this present: That his Maiestie and his successors shall entertaine a chappell in manner and forme as the kings of these realmes haue formerly done, the which shall be resident at Lisbone, that the diuine seruice may be continually

continually celebrated with the accustomed ceremonies, except “  
the Kings person, or in his absence the Viceroy or gouernour shall  
make his residence in some other part of the realme, and woulde “  
haue there the saide chappell remaine : That his Maiestie shall “  
conformably admitt Portugals to the offices of his house, accord- “  
ing to the custome of Burgundie, without any difference betwixt “  
them, the Castillians, and his subiects of other nations. That the “  
Queene shall likewise entertaine into her seruice, Noblemen, and “  
the chiefe Ladies of Portugall, whom she shall fauour and recom- “  
pence, marrying them in Portugall or in Castill : That for the good “  
of the people and generally of these realmes the encrease of traf- “  
fique, and the good correspondencie with those of Castill, his Ma- “  
iestie shall be pleased to open the barred hauens on both parties, “  
that the marchandize may passe freely, as it hath formerly done be- “  
fore the impositions of such customes as are nowe paide : That he “  
woulde commaund that all curtesies possible may be done for the “  
bringing in corne into Castill for the prouision of these realmes : “  
That he shall commaund to be deliuered three hundred thousand “  
duckats to be imploied for these causes following : First sixescore “  
thousand for the redemption of captiues, at the disposition of the “  
house of Pittie at Lisbone, the one halfe to be imploied for the re- “  
deeming of poore gentlemen, and the other halfe for ordinary per- “  
sons, all Portugals: one hundred and fiftie thousand to make the “  
ground of a stocke to be lent without interest whereas neede shall “  
require, as it shall be disposed by the magistrate of the chamber of “  
Lisbone, and the thirtie thousand remaining, to cure the infirmitie “  
that now raignes, which shall be distributed by order from the “  
Archbishop and chamber of Lisbone. They saide likewise that tou- “  
ching the prouision which shall be made for armes sent to the In- “  
dies, the defence of the realme, the punishment of pirats, and de- “  
fence of the frontiers of Affricke, his Maiestie shall take such reso- “  
lution as shall be conuenient within these realmes ; although it be “  
with the helpe of his other countries, and the great expence of his “  
roiall treasure. That in recompence of the loue, which the naturall “  
borne of these realmes do beare vnto their princes, it would please “  
the King to make his ordinarie abode there : And although the go- “  
uernment of his other realmes which God hath subiected vnto him,

„ hinder the effect of this his desire, notwithstanding he promiseth to  
 „ make the most aboad he can in this realme, and hauing no cause of  
 „ hinderance, he will leaue the Prince in his place, that being brought  
 „ vp amongst the Portugals, he may knowe, esteeme, and cherish  
 „ them as his Maiestie doth. This role was published throughout  
 all the principall cities of the realmes, by the ministers of the Ca-  
 tholique king; adding thereunto, that if the Portugals desired more,  
 the king would grant them any thing, supposing that as Christians  
 they would require nothing but iust and godly things, inferring (it  
 may be) secretly, that they would not yeeld to points of the Inqui-  
 sition and of iustice.

## THE FIFTH BOOKE.

*The Contents of the fifth Booke.*

*The fortification of the Driehead, the confusio[n] of mat-  
 ters within the Realme, and of the Gouernours: The  
 Catholique Kings answere to the Ambassadours of  
 Portugall, his expedition in the Uniuerstie of Alcala  
 touching his entrie into the Realme: The contrarietie  
 of opinions whether the King should march with his  
 armie in person or not: The recouerie of Eluas and  
 of Olliuenza: The creating of Antonie for King:  
 The Gouernours flight: The embassage of the Duke  
 of Bragance to King Philip, and his answere: The  
 taking of Villauizosa: The entrie of the Armie into  
 Portugall: The yeelding vp of Stremos.*

*The*

**H**e Portugals did not generally accept the offers made by the Catholique King: for although three of the Gouernours, the Nobilitie, and the Cleargie, did in their harts like of them, yet the thirde estate did blame them, saying, it was a rowle of deceipts, and a discouerie of *Philips* small force: And that such as had framed these cōditions, were more inclined to their owne priuate profit then the good of the realme; desiring still the cause might be ended by iustice. The Gouernours therefore stil continue the preparation for defence, and had secretly sent *Francis Barretto* into Fraunce, to let the Christian King vnderstand their right, and the wrong the Catholique King did then, seeking to posseſſe the Realme by force, and to demaund the succour of six thouſand foote, giuing commission to *Barretto* to goe from thence to Rome to beseech the Pope, to mediate with the King a suspension of armes, and to binde himſelfe to iudgement. They ſent *Elizee* of Portugall into Germanie, to ſatisfie the Emperor, and other princes touching their defence, with manie iuftifications, ſuch force had their desire to choose a king after their owne humour, that ſeeking ſuccours from forreine princes, it was the greatest care they vſed to ſhake off *Philips* yoke, for that (the which would ſeeme incredible) euen in the life of king *Henrie*, ſome gentlemen that were prisoners in Affrick, had required aide of victuals and men from the *Cheriffe*, althoſh there were no likelihood he ſhould graunt it, ſeeing that (besides the diuersitie of lawes) there was no amitie, nor other reſpect of ſtate whatſoever could binde him vnto it. For althoſh the vniōn of theſe Realmes vnder *Philip* diſcontented him, yet being wiſe and of iudgement, it was not likely he ſhould diſcouer himſelfe againſt ſo mighty a neighbour, nor truſt to the weake Portugals, being offendēd, and (as a man may ſay) hauing their hands yet died with their bloud: They proceeded slowly with the preparation of their armies and fortifications both for want of money, and for the often diſagreement of their miſtiers: And *Lewes Cæſar* chiefe purueior, enclined to *Philip*, cared not greatly to haſten the affaires, yea expreſſly (ſometimes with one let, ſometimes with an other) delaied them, ſo as they onely repaired the fortrefſes vpon the mouth of the *The Gouernors ſollicite their deſence.*

the riuers of Tagus, and made new rampiers, in places where they might descend, putting greater garrisons in all places then was accustomed, and throughout all the citie of Lisbone, they began to build many platformes, to plant artillerie, for the defence of the sea, making readie their gallions, and such other ships as they had: Yet *Emanuel* of Portugall either not well satisfied with these fortifications, or being naturally inclined to seeme to haue more knowlegde then the rest; resolued (against the opinion of many well skilled in that acte) to builde a forte in the midst of the riuer, at the mouth thereof; for that being large in that place, ships should not passe but within shotte of their artillerie: it seemed vnto him that he had good meanes to effect it, for that neere to the place whereas it runs into the sea, there riseth a small flat hill of Sand, but little discouered of the waters, the which they call *Cabeza secca*, the which deuides the nauigation or entrie thereof into two parts, the one lying betwixt the Iland and the left shoare (hauing but a shallow channell) is not nauigable but at a full sea, and with small vessels: but the other which lies betwixt the Iland and the banks on the right hand, is likewise deuided into two chanells by a shelife which they call *Cacippo*: That which lieth betwixt the right banke and the shelife, is defended by the rocke or castell of Saint *Julian*: the other which is betwixt the shelife and the sandie hill, which they terme *La Carriera d'Alcasoua*, is not defended by any forte, neither can the artillerie of Saint *Julian* reach so farre. *Emanuell* woulde builde a forte in the Iland to defend this passage: And although hauing digged deepe in the sand, he coulde finde no firme ground to settle his foundation, yet woulde not *Emanuell* desist from his opinion, but hauing no meanes to builde it of stone, he raised it of woode, filling it with earth, the which he supplied with artillerie, and many other things necessarie, yet coulde he hardly furnish it with water, for that his caske burnt with the sunne and the reuerberation of the sands, (which is vehement in those partes, although they were couered with sailes) did breake, and woulde holde no water. At that time the Gouvernours did an acte of great consideration to animate men to the defence of the Realme, for by a newe and dangerous example, they vsed religious men as instruments to execute their intention: commaunding all religious houses that they should

*The Drie  
bead fortifi-  
fed.*

*A confu-  
sion of the  
affaires of  
Portugal,  
and the Go-  
vernours.*

should not onely in their sermons, but also in their confessions, command their preachers and confessors, to animate the people to defence, in that sort as they preach the Croisado against infidels: And for that the Portugals are too ambitious of honor, they commauded them to vse this encouragement, that such should be most honoured, who did most readily prepare for resistance, so as their preachings which should haue beeene religious, were become furious orations of soldiers: This was greatly blamed by the good and wise, and was the cause of great hurt to the whole Realme, for besides the employing of priestes in a prophane action, they did animate the poore people to this defence, the which afterwardes did thrust them rashly into armes. It was likewise very hurtfull to the religious houses: for as it is dangerous to stirre vp the mindes of religious persons, these being by the death of king *Henry* growne more then before, adding thereunto this other libertie to speake publiquely; whilst they did animate others, it bred in themselues warlike affections, so as hauing passed the limits of their profession, in a manner all the Ecclesiasticall state ran into iugtie abuses and disorders, as we shall hereafter see: There wanted money to furnish the charge for this defence, and therefore they desired to borrowe one hundredth thousand duckats of the marchants, the which (although they would not agree vnto) they were forced to pay: These things were practised at Lisbone more then in any other parts of the Realme. In the meaine time the Gouernours were in diuision, and irresolute, loosing still of their reputation: For the Prior continuing still in the cause of his legitimation, and seeming daily a more obstinate pretendent, threatned such as shoulde contradict him: The ministers of iustice began to decline from their accustomed authoritie, and euery man presumed to speake and do what he pleased, shewing well that it was a realme without a king, the which was remarkable in two points, which then hapned, as well amongst the religious as the secular. The one was that the religious of the order of Saint Jerome in our Ladies monasterie of Belem, being desirous to recover their libertie which the king had taken from them, who with consent of the Pope, and of his authoritie had bound them ( notwithstanding the rules of this religion ) to chuse superior officers at his pleasure; that is, one of the lower or fwe religious men that

*The disorder  
of the  
religious  
of Belem.*

» that he shoulde name to euerie office : Frier *Emanuel d'Enora* being  
 » then Prouinciall, all the Religious went vnto him, saying ; That he  
 » was not iudicably chosen to that charge, and therefore he shoulde  
 » renounce his office, and they would choose another according to  
 » the Statutes : The Frier (to whom this seemed of harde digestion)  
 opposed himselfe to their demaund, with many reasons, and multi-  
 plying many words, both of the one side and of the other, they did  
 forceably put the Prouinciall prisoner in a Seller, vsing him some-  
 thing hardly in their choler : The kinsmen to the Prouinciall hear-  
 ing of this disorder, ranne for remedie to *Alexander Formento* then  
*Nuncio* for his Holinesse in that Realme, who vnderstanding the  
 reasons of both parties ( although the Religious protested he was  
 not their Judge) yet he commaunded the Prouinciall should be de-  
 liuered, and restored to his charge, citing some of the Religious men  
 of the Monasterie before him as seditious : The Friers ( to whome  
 this sentence was signified by a publike Notarie ) would not obey ;  
 So as the kinsmen of the Religious prisoner, crauing aide from the  
 secular power, the Gouernours sent the officers of iustice of the  
 citie of Lisbone to the Couent, with three Ensignes of soldiers, to  
 see this sentence put in execution by force, who being come to Be-  
 lem, the Friers shut their gates, leauing the Church open; where  
 notwithstanding the grate of wood which shuts vp the great Chap-  
 pell and the Sepulchres of kings was close, they went into the quire  
 singing their Letanies : But after the officers of iustice had knocked  
 a while at the Couent gate, and no man opening it, entering into  
 the Church they burst downe the grate of wood, so as the soldiers  
 comming into the Cloister of Friers, they laide hold of such Reli-  
 gious persons as they met, with small respect of their priestly order :  
 And although the elders came with their Crosses, Buls, and excom-  
 munications, it nothing preuailed, for they must of force deliu-  
 er the Religious man, and restore him to his former estate, the which  
 they did, protesting they had vsed violence, and that they woulde  
 complaine to the Apostolique seate. The other case was that Fer-

*Doctor Fernande Pina a Doctor and Citizen, being chosen in the place of  
 nand de Pi- Diego Salma ( whome Henry had deposid) Vereador of the Cham-  
 nealine.*

ber, which is the highest degree of magistrate, that hath charge of  
 the citie ; he was at noone day in the market place, wounded in the  
 head

head with a Curtelax, by *Anthony Soarez*, whereof he died soone after: the which the Prior had caused to be done, for that *Pyna* in his office, had not onely spoken ill against him, but also laboured to draw the officers, and all the Councell of the Chamber, to the Catholique Kings deuotion: *Anthonie* desired to reuenge himselfe in this manner; and the offender (who knew better how to strike then to flie) being hurt by the Sergeants, and retired into a Church, without the citie, was taken prisoner by the Justice, and after some daies of imprisonment was hanged, and quartered, the which execution was done with trouble and feare, least the people shoulde deliuer him: For the authoritie of the Gouernours declining, the ministers of iustice were not respected: And for that they knew this murther was committed by the coniamaundement of *Anthonie*, the people were inclined to sauе him. The Religious for the like respect (alleging, that the secular power could not iudge him being taken in the Church) came running likewise to the place of execution to succour him: And had not *Damain D' Aguiar* (a feuere and resolute officer) had the charge thereof, who suddenly put this sentence in execution, there was so great a concourse of people, crying, and of religious men with their crosses, and excommunications, that the offender had been easily rescued. These disorders displeased the louers of religion, and quietnes, who blaming somewhat the Friers, for not suffering their Prouinciall, quietly to ende the terme of his charge, yet did they attribute more fault vnto the gouernours, for suffering in such a season so publike and rigorous an execution, against the religious, and chiefly vpon a Monasterie seated vpon the banks of Tagus, saying, that if for no other reason, yet shoulde they haue forborne, in respect that many English and French ships anchored there, whose men infected with heresie, would reioyce to see the religious in the hands of Sergeants. The death of *Pina* was held for an indiscreet and cruell resolution of *Anthonie*, for being but a matter of small moment, to be reuenged by so foule an example, vpon an olde man, a lawyer, and of meane condition, he had thrust himselfe into an exigent either to be held vnthankfull insuffering of *Soarez* to die as he did, or else to doe violence vnto iustice. But for that princes hate the executioners of their follies, for in their life doth liue the remembrance of their errors; even so the Prior hated

hated this man, after the offence committed, neither did he labour to saue him, although his death made him contemptible to the people. The said prior was thē at Almerin, laboring the cause of his legitimation, & solliciting the judges to decide the same, who excused themselves that they could not do it, ( obseruing the lawes of the realme) if he retired not himselfe 25. miles from the Court, that in so doing they would looke into the cause: But for that the Duke of Bragance and the Ambassadours of other princes were there present, he would not depart, & for this reason the matter surceased: at this time *Emanuel* of Portugall, who remained at Belem, laboured ambitiously that *John Teglio*, one of the gouernours, his brother in lawe, conformable to himselfe in opinion, (principally in the exclusion of *Philip*,) should be sent to Belem, with authoritie from the other gouernours to prouide by his presence for all things necessarie, seeming a matter hard to effect at Almeryn: The other gouernours desirous to be rid of his companie, and not daring to contradict any thing that seemed to concerne the defence, gaue him authoritie, and suffered him to goe to Belem: There he consulted with *Emanuel*, and receiving with some difficultie, the money borrowed of the merchants, he resolued (for the gathering together of a greater summe) to sell the iewels of the Crowne, the which were there, and therefore causing them to be brought foorth, he dealt with some merchants vpon the price. The Duke of Ossuna was then returned into Castill, leauing *Mora* in Portugall, with the other Ambassadours that were Lawyers, who vnderstanding the iewels were vpon sale, the saide *Mora* in the name of the Catholique King, required the said gouernours not to sell them, as appertaining to the King, protesting both against them and the buiers, that they should be bounde to restore the price at their owne charge, so as they found not any that woulde deale with them.

*Philip* being at Merrida as it was saide, hauing by a long protestation required the gouernors to deliuere him the possession of the Realme: The Bishop of Coimbra and *Emanuel de Melo* returned the second time, making the like proposition to the King as they had done at Guadalupa, offering to put the cause to arbitrement, and complaining he had giuen them too short a time to resolute: But *Philip* being now well resolued what he woulde doe, and insour-

med of the aide the Portugals demaunded from other princes, he made them the like answere as before : Many iudged the proposition of those Ambassadours to be ill grounded, saying it was an vnseemely thing to require the King to make himselfe subiect to the iudgement of nominated judges, seeing that King *Edyng* himselfe (who with more appearance of reason, might pretend to be lawfull iudge in this cause) did never require the King to acknowledge him for iudge, neither did he ever declare him contumax, in the cause debated with the pretenders for not acknowledging him.

The Catholique King came to Badagio the 20. of May, where the Portugall Ambassadours laboured to perswade him, making suite, that before the taking of armes he shoule admit an assemblie to the estates, but they were no more admitted to audience; the king resolued to send his answere vnto the gouernors, and to publish it throughout the whole realme in the name of his Councell, the which he did as followeth : That experience had taught that by two examples of the estates last held at Lisbone, and at Almerin, they wrought no good effect, in fauour of the apparant right of his Maiestie, but in the one, and the other, they had still laboured to trouble it, seeking lets, and delaies, whiche might haue bred the losse thereof, and therefore it seemed a treble error to attend againe a new assemblie of these estates : That they haue no reason to complaine that his Maiestie had giuen them too short a time to resolute, accounting from the day of the receipt of his letters the xiii. of March, (by the which he required them to sweare him) saying they made no good computation, if they supposed he were dispossessed of the realme, but from the time that he demaunded it, appertaining vnto him from the hower of King *Henries* death : but that his Maiestie had expressly contained himselfe a moneth and a halfe without making of any motion, to the ende they should not loose the thanks, by calling him to the succession whom God had called; and might haue leisure amongst themselves to make cleere this bond by which they were tied, and giue satisfaction, making the pretenders capable of reason, to the ende they should not hinder the publike quiet, and that they might be intercessors for them and for the realme, which course the king himselfe had taught them : That their excuse might be taken in two senses, saying, they couldc not

below

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receiue

» receiue his Maiestie but in a generall assenblid of estates, their  
 » meaning is, either that they cannot doe it by right, or that they may  
 » not doe it, for that they dare not: In the first case they are deceived,  
 » for there needes no assenble of estates, when a king makes his en-  
 » trie vnto the realme, although he succeede not to his father, but to  
 » his kinsman; neither were they necessarie whenas *Henry* succee-  
 » ded to his nephew. In the other case that they can not doe it, because  
 » they dare not; the excuse is good, but not to binde the king, neither  
 » in justice, nor conscience, to desist from taking the possession of his  
 » goods, if the delaies make the meanes difficult. That this deceit  
 » should grow from the opinion they haue conceiued, that in the end,  
 » all that they can doe for his Maiestie, is to consigne him the realme  
 » by accord and composition; not remembiring that he received it  
 » not from their hands, but from God and by his owne right, so as  
 » these words of capitulations, transactions, and accords be neither  
 » proper, nor fit; for if they looke vnto the preterition of their sta-  
 » tutes, and priuileges, they shold not be called accords, but bonds,  
 » the which his Maiestie must accomplish, as lawfull king of Portu-  
 » gall: And if they referre it to that which is newly to be graunted  
 » them, much lesse doe they deserue that name, but rather of the libe-  
 » ralitie, greatnes, and meere grace, whereunto his Maiestie, for the  
 » bountie and loue he beareth them will binde himselfe, with all the  
 » assurance they can demand, so as the estates were necessarie, when  
 » as the realme might dispute vpon these graces, and choose another  
 » king whom they pleased; but hauing no authoritie, but to intreate  
 » for the augmentation of these fauours, the estates had nothing to  
 » doe with his entrie: That they deliuered all these things onely to  
 » make plaine the matter, with the rigour of truth, without any mea-  
 » ning of his Maiestie, to refuse such graces, as had beene offered on  
 » his behalfe, or to giue the assurance they shold require for the ac-  
 » complishment thereof; neither doth he stande vpon the meanes,  
 » termes, or words which shall be requisite, to giue full contentment  
 » to the realme, although they be in effect the same with capitulations  
 » and accords: That as the inconuenience they alleage wants sub-  
 » stance and reason, so those which are presented in his Maiesties  
 » name were so precise and necessarie, as they admitted no more de-  
 » lay, although that he desired to satisfie their demaunds, as he al-  
     waies

waies sought to doe by effect in any thing he could. That it is appa-  
rant, the armie now marching and approaching so neare, it cannot  
turne head, nor entertaine it selfe, for that the victuals in the coun-  
try are consumed, and that which they haue in store would be spo-  
led; besides it is a dangerous matter to entertaine an armie obedi-  
ent so long time at sea, and therefore were most reasonable to dis-  
charge them of this burthen : That although his Maestie be easily  
persuaded that the greatest part of those which require him to stay,  
doe it with a good and sincere intention, yet can they not denie but  
another sort of people desire and labour to hinder him by the acci-  
dents that may happen, and to cause him to loose the opportunitie,  
wherein he might employ his galleys vpon the coast of Portugall,  
knowing the season for vessels that goe with oares to bee quickly  
past : That since his Maestie came from Madrill, he hath sought all  
possible delaies, hauing (as they know) spent three monethes in his  
voyage, to the end they should want no tiime, to vnderstand, agree,  
and accomodate themselues ; but although the time had beeene  
continued a whole yeere, it is apparant the busynesse had beeene no-  
thing aduaunced, hauing spent so many daies in superfluous reply-  
ings, during which they might haue assembled their estates, and  
forgotten them : And whereas on the one side they offer to holde  
them with breuitie, on the other side ( being now the moneth of  
Iune) his Maestie vnderstandeth, that neither the Prelates, the No-  
bilitie, much lesse the Deputies of townes are arriued, and that the  
elections are not yet made in many cities, hauing intelligence that  
they delay them by cunning and subornations ; whereby it is appa-  
rant, that these estates would rather breed a confusion, then any  
good effect : And although the small fruit they may hope for here-  
by, be euident ; yet doe they not beleue his Maestie will hinder  
them vntill his entrie into the realme ; but being entered, hee will or-  
daine that which shall seeme fit for the seruice of God, of himselfe,  
and of the generall good of this crowne, bee it by meanes of the  
estates or otherwise, seeking alwaies the most profitable, for the na-  
turall subiects of the same realme : That his Maestie cannot (al-  
though he should shut his eies) rest fully assured of their proposi-  
tions, seeing his good subiects in these realmes, oppressed and af-  
flicted, vnder colour of an vniust resistance, which they cal defence,

„ and those onely persecuted, and ill intreated, which follow his partie, and acknowledge the truth of his Title, whereas contrariwise those which are passionate and slanderous perturbers of the peace, good and publique quiet, are faououred: That to conclude, his Maiestie would haue their workes conformable to their wordes, for otherwise they cannot blame him, if he proceede cunningly: And that they may vnderstand with how great reason he distrusteth their delaies, he did signifie vnto them, that he had certainte and late aduise from many prouinces, that at the same time when as they intreated him with faire words to stay and attend, they did with great instance deauand succours from other nations, making secret praetises most hurtfull to the good of the Church, and the peace of all Christendome, although God would not suffer them to trouble it: That although with the helpe of God his Maiestie would soone enter into Portugall with mightie forces, yet should they not belieue that he came to make warre against them, but would labour all he could that none should receiue hurt, but such as did oppose themselues obstinately to his iust possession, hoping they would not any waies hinder him, but would willingly make easie all difficulties, to the end that by their good succours, his Maiestie might this sommer turne his force against infidels.

*The governours inconuenience.*

The governours viewing this graue and wise answere with the kings resolution, by the which the whole realme was assured to haue warre, both within and round about, being odious vnto the people, who blamed them for the slacke and euill execution of all matters, and of the weake resistance they prepared, they were doubtfull what to doe: They would haue left Almerin, for the plague beginning to raigne, and the season hot (the place being sandie) woulde not suffer them to stay: And hauing intelligence that *Antonie* animated the people against them in his fauour, they desired to retire into some place of strength, as well to assure themselues against the rising of the people, as for the warre, for that Almeryn was without walles. They iudged Settuall (whither they had called the estates, although with small hope to holde them) more fit then any other, being a walled towne and a port of the sea, and therefore desired to withdraw themselues thither: They had devised (at the least three of them) to assist the Catholique King, for his entrie into the realme,

in despite of such as should prepare for the defence, esteeming this strong place fit for that effect, there to bring in the kings armie at sea, and so to frustrate the fortification which *Emanuel* of Portugall had made in the mouth of the riuver of Tagus : but they could not bring their purpose to passe, for the deputies of the last estates remaining, discouering their intention, said, it was fit they should all stay at Saint Arem, so as fearing to giue greater cause to suspect, they coulde not depart : They added moreouer, that leauing the Prior there with the deputies, in a tyme when as the Catholique king should begin to take armes, they might in their absence vnder colour of defence erect a tyrannie. So as ignorant what course to take, or how to redresse things, they did (being friends) by their irresolution more hurt to the Catholique king, then they coulde haue done being enimies : for the king (hoping these woulde haue deliuered him the crowne) proceeded slowly with his armie. At that time it chanced, that *John Gonzalez de Camera*, Earle of Caglietta, died of the plague at Almeryn, so as the Gouernors tooke this occasion to depart from thence, and went to Settual, with the Duke of Bragance, the Agents of the Catholique King, and others of their faction; for hauing created captaines, & placed a garrison, they cōmanded the gates to be guarded. The Catholique King hauing assembled his armie neere to Badagios, & received aduertisement that his nauie was at Saint Marie porte, ready to set saile, before they should enter into Portugall, not yet well satisfied with the diligence he had vsed (as it is saide) with many Diuines; desired to consult againe in the Vniuersitie of Alcala, where the profession of Diuinitie flourishest most in those realnes, vpon his entrie in armes into the realme, and the proposition made by the Portugall Embassadors : And to that effect hauing assenbled all the doctors, being in number aboue thirtie, hauing made their praiers and supplications vnto <sup>The dilig-</sup> *gance of the Catholique King upon his entrie by force into Portugall, made by the Divines of Alcala.*

right, after the death of King *Henry* to the realmes of Portugall: whether he were in conscience bound to submit himselfe to any tribunall iudge, or arbitrator, who might adiudge him the realmes, or put him in possession thereof. The second was, that the realme of Portugall refusing to acknowledge him for their Prince, vnlesse he woulde first stande to iudgement with the pretendents: Whether he may of his owne authoritie, take possession thereof by force, against such as shall make resistance, presupposing that there is no doubt or scruple of conscience in his title whatsoeuer? The thirde was, that the Gouernours of Portugall, alleging that they and the whole realme, haue sworne not to receiue any for King but him that shoulde be iudicably so declared, and that they may not receiue the King otherwise, the rather for that the pretendents complaine and offer to stande to iudgement: He desired to know if the saide Gouernors, and the whole realme, may pretend this oath for an excuse „not to receiue him for King. To the first they answered, that the „King was not bound in conscience, to submit himselfe to any Iustice „or arbitrement, seeing that he had of himseife priuate authoritie to „adiuge vnto himselfe those realmes, and to take possession: They „excluded (especially from this authoritie of iudging,) all Princes, „and such as might pretend to take any knowledge thereof. And first „humble saluting the Pope, and the Apostolike sea, they denied, that „this iurisdiction did appertaine vnto him, the cause being merelie „temporall, and nothing concurring whereby his holines should vse „that indirect authoritie which he hath in temporall causes, so farre „forth as they concerne the spirituall good: They shewed he was „not bounde to the censure of the Emperour, for that the Kings of „Spaine were soueraignes, not acknowledging the Emperour in any „thing, and much lesse to any other King. They prooued he was not „subiect to the common wealth, nor the realmes of Portugul, saying, „That when as common wealthes doe choose their first King vpon „condition to obey him and his successors, they remaine subiect vnto „him to whom they haue transferred their authoritie, no iurisdiction „remaining in them, either to iudge the realme, or the true suc-cessor, seeing in the first election, all the true successors were chosen: „Being therefore most apparant there is a true successour; it follo-weth that the common wealth of Portugall hath no iurisdiction to iudge

judge of him that doth truely succeede , and that the King hath as great a warrant not to be subiect to the censure of this common wealth, as he hath to be true successour. And as touching the eleuen persons of the fower and twentie which King *Henry* had named; they saide that *Henry* himselfe coulde not be iudge of him that did succeede after him , for that after his death the office of ad ministering iustice was expired , and all his authoritie and iurisdiction past vnto his lawfull successor. Against arbitrators they speake little , onely that the bond of cōpremisse had no place, when as the equitie of the cause was not doubtfull, as it was supposed. They answered them which saide , that the King had no interest to the realme of Portugall as King of Castill, but as kinsman to King *Henry*; by reason whereof, he coulde not in this case challenge the prcheminence he hath as King of Castill , saying , that this imaginarie diuision cannot bee made in the person of the King , for it is so annexed to the dignitie royall , that his person cannot be wronged, but the dignitie woulde suffer. And seeing the Prince may lawfully make war vpon an other Realme , for iniuries done to his brothers and friends confederats, with greater reason may he do it, in taking possession of a Realme which appertaines lawfully vnto himselfe. They made answer to such as said , that (obseruing the ciuill & canon law) a matter litigious, should be iudged where it happeneth, and therfore this shoulde bee decided in Portugall , saying , that these decisions speake of particular persons , who haue their superiour Judges , and not of soueraigne Princes and their dependancies. To the seconde article , they answered with more reasons then vnto the first, saying , the King was not bound to any thing but to signifie vnto the Gouernour his Title and certaine interest to the Crowne , and if notwithstanding this demonstration , they should make resistance, then the King by his owne authoritie might take possession of the Realme , (vsing if neede required) force of armes , for that in this action it can not bee termed force , but a naturall defence of the Realme which is his owne ; and a iust punishment of Rebels. To the third, they said that this oath could not binde them that had undertaken to obserue it , seeing it is most certaine , that neither in Portugall nor else whero, any iudge may determine this cause with the King. Moreouer, that this oath is to the prejudice of his prerogatiue

» gative royall, and as this oath did not binde such as had taken it, so  
 » coulde it not excuse them from the bonde by the which they were  
 » tied to receiue him for King; and that the allegations of the preten-  
 » dents, and their offer to stand to iudgement did not binde the King  
 » to acknowledge for iudge, such as were not. The Catholique King,

*The Catho-  
lique King  
takes posse-  
son of Por-  
tugall.*

having viewed these reasons, resolued to stay no longer frō taking possession of the Realme, and therefore he caused his whole Armie to march to Cantigliana three miles from Badagios, there to passe into Portugall, where hee himselfe with the Queene woulde see it lodged; for which effect he commaunded a scaffold to be made in open field, where being mounted, he set downe all the orders, direc-  
 » ted by the old Duke of Alua in the habit of a yoong souldier: And although it seemed the King had resolued to stay at Badagios; yet this matter was disputed amonst the curious with diuers reasons;

*A question  
whether the  
Catholique  
King should  
gouern the  
armie in per-  
son.*

and besides the generall opnions of some, who did maintaine that Kings ought to be personall in their enterprises, they did alleage some other speciall reasons, which did binde the king to goe with his armie: They distinguished three qualities incident to the enterprise, whereby the King shoulde go in person: that is, the importance of the pretencion, the hope of happie successe, and the difficultie to execute it by a minister: shewing that all three did concurre heerein, seeing it was a question for a realme of importance, rich, and bordering vpon his other countries, head of many rich estates, and then in the way of greatness. That the hope of victorie was in all humaine consideration certaine, both in regard of his iustice, and force, as also for the weakenes of his aduersaries: That the difficulty to vndertake it by a minister was great, and proper in that case; the King not entering into Portugall to subdue cities, but to winne their harts; not playing the part of a conquerour, but of a lawfull Prince; who entreth with necessarie forces to suppress the ordinarie alter-  
 » rations of realmes, newly gotten, as he had protested to the Gouernors and estates of the realme; that such offices for so important causes coulde not be committed but to the person of the eldest Prince, being a commission vnfit for any childe or nephew, much lesse for a captaine Generall, being a Castillian of nation, most imperious bod, by nature, and for the great and important affaires which he had manngaged; besides being for his owne particular hate-  
 » full

full to the Portugals : They saide it was most certaine if the King entred the realme in person, of friends he shoulde make faithfull subiects, of newters friends, and of enimies newters; where as contrariwise, the Duke woulde make his friendes newters, his newters enimies, and his enimies obstinate rebels : With these reasons and others, such as iudged the Kings presence necessarie in the enterprise, fortified their opinions : On the other side it was saide, that when the resolutions of the one side haue so great difficultie, as they draw neare to impossibilities, there is no disputing what is conuenient, but of force they must obey necessitie : that the question of the Kings entring into Portugall was of this nature, seeing that by diuers accidents the strength of the armie was so weakened, that it was both in quantitie and qualitie most different from that which had beeene set downe, for there wanted aboue sixe thousand souldiers I be Kings army wa-  
red. of them which had been leuied, the number of the Spaniards which came out of Italy was greatly diminished, and there wanted halfe of those that were new raised, and the bands that came from the lowe Countries could not arriue in time. If these which were the strenght of the armie had beeene ioyned, and the number appointed in the beginning assembled, the King might wel haue perfourmed the enterprise in person, for then had he made the way open for the succours of men & munition, froin the frontiers vnto Settuual, leading garrisons in al places to receiue & conduit them. But wanting horse and foote necessarie for the action, there was no other remedie but to runne the fortune of two great daungers : The one was to conduct all the victuals with the armie, which would cause a new and monstrous forme of Campe, wanting horsemen to couer their carriages : The other of no lesse importance was, that the life of these men depended vpon the inconstancie of the sea and winde, which shoulde conduct the armie from Andelouzia to Settuall, with the other victuals and munition to serue the want of those whom they transported. And although the Duke contented himselfe with the number of his soldiers, he did it trusting to his owne dexteritie, and the ignorance of his enimies : And if he hoped to surmount these dangers, he grounded his opinion vpon the Portugals vnskilfulness to preuent him, entertaining him behinde with continual skirmishes to conuoy him, the which if they could effect

were

were dangerous, for thereby they should force him to turne backe  
and fight with disaduantage of the place, where they might be de-  
feated, or staied from passing the armie ouer the riuier of Tagus, the  
which were to put a battaile in compromise, for the humours which  
might daily arise; besides there were some difficultie to ioine the two  
parts of the armie, the one being at sea, the other at land, & vneasie  
to ioine them at a limited time, & the delay of 20. daies would hinder  
the effect for a yeeres imployement; so as they concluded that nei-  
ther by reason of war, nor of state, the King ought to hazard his per-  
son in this enterprise, for that neither industrie, nor fortune be suf-  
ficient warrants for the safety of Princes, who ought not to ground  
their resolutions vpon an others weakenes, but vpon their owne  
proper forces.

*Confusion  
in Portugall.*

Whilst that matters in Castill stooode on these termes, and that  
the Portugals grew daily more arrogant and confused, it was appa-  
rantly with small insight how this realme ranne headlong into ruine:  
For al being confounded with vanitie, no man knew what he would  
do, no man was resolute what he shoulde execute, and if any were  
yet blinded, they knewe not what course to take: The Gouvernours  
being at Settuall, assembled the estates, being amazed to under-  
stand the Duke of Alua was in field, resolute to inuade the realme  
presently: On the other side that Anthony was at Saint Arem, incen-  
sing the Deputies, that they shoulde not go to the Estates, practising  
the disorder which hapned after. The Duke of Bragance pressed  
them, shewing his griefes in publike, it may be for not proceeding ac-  
cording to his humour. The Embassadors of the Catholique King  
gave them no time to breath. John Teglio was at Lisbone, preparing  
for defence, with whom they had no good intelligence: They desi-  
red to content all men, yet feared the peoples furie; they laboured  
much and prouided for nothing. The cities cried for armes to de-  
fend themselues, or to haue permission to yeeld; they answered in  
generall tearmes without any effect; they receiued letters from the  
Duke of Alua, who accused them of crueltie, saying, they obserued  
not the custome of all nations, which is, that when an armie enters  
master of the field, they commaund all places which cannot defend  
themselues, to yeeld, to the end they may auoide the violent course  
of warre, to sliae all such as make resistance, whereas not vsing of  
this

this rigour they shall be forced to bring the cannon before euery  
courage, and make the warre perpetuall, & yet this letter neuer in-  
duced them to set a resolute order to any towne. They were wel re-  
solued to give the realme to the Catholique King, yet coulde they  
not conclude for the effecting thereof. They feared in a manner to  
be stoned if they discouered this intention, and therefore they  
woulde not hazard themselues, loosing daily all hope to bring the  
matter to that passe, that the King shoulde acknowledge the crowne  
from them as they pretended: Besides the King being wholie of an  
other hunde, they knew not what they could do, if they had would.  
The people (who flatter themselues much and endure little) suppo-  
sed the defence was easie, euery man shewed himselfe a lion, for the  
defence of his owne house, yet woulde they not go armed to fielde.  
Those of the house of Portugall, and the other aduersaries to the  
Catholique King, were in no lesse confusion then the Gouernours;  
for hauing beene obstinate in their opinions, they found they had  
mooved the indignation of Philip against them without profite:  
And although they were more confident in the defence then they  
ought to be, yet did they feare the kings protestations, by the which  
demaunding possession of the realme, he threatned such as shoulde  
withstand him: The Agents of the Catholique King laboured to  
suborne those as they had the rest, yet it preuailed not, for being in  
the beginning obstinate, confident in the midst, and distrustfull  
in the end to obtaine pardone, they woulde neuer agree: yet left  
they not to hope, that the more they proceeded in the defence, the  
better they shoulde let the King understand their forces, and might  
compound with greater aduantage: And for that the warres conti-  
nued, the Gouernors supposed, that in this sorte the King shoulde  
acknowledge the crowne from them: But he being well ensoumed  
of all these matters, and hauing treated with many frontier townes  
of Portugall to yeeld, hauing imparted vnto them the equitie of his  
cause, by ample allegations, entreating them not to be the cause of  
the ruine of the realme, hauing caused Peter de Velasco, soueraigne  
judge of Badajos to write to some particulars, he first attempted of Elvas.  
Elvas as nearest vnto him: The Citizens fearing they shoulde either  
indeed or woorde be first set vpon, attended daily this Embassage;  
They were deuided as it often happens into two contrarie factions;

the

the one enclined to the obediencie of *Philip*; the other, vnder colour of liberty, & fidelity to the Gouernors, would by no meanes receiue him for their Lorde. The heades of the first partie were *George Paffano*, and *John Rodrigo Paffano* brothers, followed by many Citizens, whom they call Esquires: On the other side was *Anthony de Melo* capraine of the citie, whose opinion was followed by the greatest part of the Nobilitie, but in farre lesse number then the rest, whereas euery man spake his minde openly. *Diego de Menejes* had beene there a little before to fortifie the citie, and seeking to enlarge their ditches, he found it a matter of some difficultie, so as he departed without effecting any thing, saying, that he would returne with armes, which the Gouernours shoulde sende; whereof failing, the Citizens knew well they coulde not resist. True it is, that the King had long before prepared their mindes by the meanes of Frier *Vincent of Fonseca*, a preaching Frier, kinsman to the *Paffano*, a noble familie, and well followed, enclined from the beginning withal their followers to the deuotion of *Philip*: he vsed all meanes to drawe the rest vnto him; yet the day of Th' annunciation of the blessed Virgin, this religious man preaching, labouring to perswade the people to the Kings obediencie, they did not willingly heare him: So as now when he sought to take possession thereof, hauing dispatched many messengers to the Bishop, and *Anthony de Melo*, in the ende he sent *Peter de Velasco* with letters to the principall of the towne, and procuracy to receiue this citie to his obediencie. Being arriued at Eluas the xvij. of Iune, with eightene men vnarmed, although the gates were shut by reason of the infection, yet was he presently let in by the iudge of the towne, and going to the church of pittie, he caused the Bishop, the Magistrate of the chamber, and the Nobilitie to be assembled, to whom he deliuered the letters which the King had written, containing in substance, that the matter being apparent that the succession of the realme belonged vnto him, he had sent the saide *Peter* with procuracy to receiue it vnto his obediency, if they woulde yeeld it, adding vnto his kinde wordes many offers: And although the Bishop, *Melo*, and the Magistrate of the chamber, received these letters and read them, yet the Nobilitie did not accept them so easilie, for that some feared to commit an errour, and others debating who shoulde receiue them, they did

*The Kings  
letters to  
them of El-  
uas.*

not

not accept them, yet they agreed that Frier *Anthony de la Cerdá*, Prior of the Monasterie of Saint Dominick shoulde receive the letters for the Nobilitie, and bring them to the cathedral church; so as all letters being read, *Melo* and the Magistrate ( who preceeded the rest) demaunded eight daies libertie to consult, and to giue their answere, intending in the meane time to sende to the Gouvernours: the which *Velasco* woulde not graunt, but saide vnto them, that he woulde presently returne, wishing them to aduise, and not to cause the armie which his Maiestie had so neere to march to their losse: yet they sent *Gaspar de Britto* to Stremos, where *Diego de Meneses* generall of that prouince remained, to aduertise him of what had passed, remaining thus in suspence vntill the next day. When as the *Passau* enformed of *Melos* intention, contrarie to their will and authoritie, resolued to kill him, if he refused to yeeld, and had alreadie incensed the people against him, causing many to giue out publikely, that they woulde be Castillians: *Velasco* went after to the castell to perswade *Melo* in priuate, to make the matter more easie, and not to shewe himselfe ( without reason ) enemie to the King: But it was in vaine, for he saide, that he had receiuied this place from the Gouvernours, and that he woulde not yeelde it to any man without their commandement: If it were adiudged to appertaine vnto the King, he woulde presently yeelde. Standing vpon these tearmes, there appeared by the commandement of *Velasco* about the towne ditches, neere sixe hundred horse armed, who seased vpon the wels and conduits of water, which serued the inhabitants for their watering, putting the Portugals into great feare; so as nowe the women began to crie, and to curse *Melo*, and all those that woulde not yeeld obedience vnto the king. Some yoong men induced by *Philips* partisans, seeing into what danger the captaine had brought the safety of the citie, resolued to kill him: and going to the Cathedral church where they were all assembled, they attened at the doore to effect it when he shoulde come foorth; but discoursing with the Bishop who perswaded him, ignorant of the danger wherein he was, a nephew of his named likewise *Anthony de Melo*, vnderstanding in the castell in what danger his grandfather was, came foorth with certaine Harguebusiers to his succour, and came in time before he was yet issued out of the church: Old *Anthony*, seeing this

yoong man enter armed, was amazed, not knowing the cause, but vnderstanding it afterwards, and withall the hazard whereunto he was brought by such as did watch for him, he sent to *Velasco* that he shoulde compound with the magistrate, that as for him he was content to yeeld obediencie to king *Philip*, by meanes whereof all was pacified, for the Magistrate had alreadie yeelded: At the taking of their oathes the Citizens ( ill aduised ) required *Velasco* that in the Kings name, hee shoulde graunt vnto the citie many priuileges and exemptions of customes and impostes, throughout the realme, with many other things of importance: And hee liberall of that which he could not giue, graunted all that was deuaunded, but these promises were not obserued by the King, saying (as it was true indeed) that *Velasco* had exceeded his commission. These things ended, they were aduertised that *Gaspar de Britto* whom the citie had sent to *Diego de Meneses* was returning with three hundred men, horse and foote, ill appointed, to guard this place; to whom they presently sent word that he shoulde turne back, and hauing discouered the Castilian horse of himselfe, he fled with al his troupes. The day following (the vsuall ceremonies perfourmed) in proclaiming a newe King, *Velasco* returned, hauing staied there but three daies: The principall of Eluas went after to Badagios to kisse the Kings hande, of whom they had better reception then he is accustomed to giue vnto such people, sending *Garcia de Cardenas* nephewe to the Duke of Alua, to the citie, to thanke the Citizens for their good wils.

The reduc-  
tion of Oli-  
enza.

Elias being reduced, *Peter Velasco* for the same intent tooke his way towards Oliuenza, whither he had before written, labouring that *Nugno Aluarez*, sonne to the Earle of Tentuguell, being captaine of the place, shoulde depart, the which he easily obtained: for the Citizens who had their affections enclined to the Catholique King, were resolued to yeelde vnto him, hauing entreated the King that it woulde please him not to make this place the first whereof he shoulde take possession, seeing that he had woone their harts, desiring rather to deserue lesse by obtaining late, then to be accused of inconstancie by hastening much: For this cause they not onelie thrust foorth *Nugno Alvarez*, but also *Diego de Soza*, a knight of the order of Saint John, who had succeeded in his place.

The

The newes of all this and of the successe of Eluas came presently to Saint Arem, whereas *Anthony* remained, labouring with the people to be proclaimed King: He was alwaies impatient in his pretention, notwithstanding the persecutions that king *Henry* inflicted vpon him, labouring still by all meanes possible to aspire to the crowne, intreating, threatening, and suborning. He treated by his Agents with the Catholique King, in diuers manners: Sometimes he seemed iealous of the Duke of Bragance, and would ioine with the King against him: Sometimes he treated to resigne his interest to *Philip*, if he would make him a good composition, carrying himselfe as his hopes increased or diminished: So as it hapned vnto such as managed his affaires with the king, when they found themselves to haue concluded a matter, they found their authoritie reuoked. The King in the end, caused *Christopher de Mora* to talke with him, and to make offer of all he should demaund, for the great loue he bare vnto him, without naming either summe or any thing else whatsoeuer, but for that he hated *Mora*, he would not by his meanes treate of this matter of agreement. Notwithstanding when as the Duke of Ossuna deliuered vnto the Gouernors a copie of the kings minde, as is before set downe, he deliuered vnto *Anthony* a letter from the King, wherein he did write vnto him: That forasmuch as he was not ignorant many yeeres since of the good will he had alwaies borne him, the which he had laboured to make shewe of in all occasions, he was assured he woulde not prooue ingrate, but shew himselfe answerable vnto that whereunto reason did binde him, & the neerenes of bloud that was betwixt them: He said moreover, that hauing vnderstoode the right and apparant title hee had to the realmes of Portugall, he entreated him most hartely to shew himselfe one of the first to receiue, and to sweare him for his King and naturall Lord, as God had appointed; that by his example the rest might do that whereunto they were bounde, assuring him that for his owne particular, he woulde holde that regard of him, to recompence and grace him, as was conuenient, referring the rest to that which the Duke of Ossuna and *Mora* shoulde deliuere vnto him. But this letter wrought no effect, for he then saide vnto the Duke, that he woulde never agree, making answere vnto the King that he could not satisfie him, for that being vnder the peoples protection,

*The Catholique king  
his letter  
vnto Anthonie.*

*Antonie  
proclaimed  
King of  
Portugall.*

he must gouerne himselfe according to their mindes ; and therefore vnderstanding that the Castillians began to enter within the realm, he made haste to dispatch this busines with the people & the Deputies ; and making his profite of the possession the King tooke, seeing the necessitie they had of a commaunder to make resistance, he induced them to choose him Protector, or King : And although this resolution was made by the most seditious and arrogant, who by force secke to execute what they please , who woulde needes proclaime him King, yet were there many that woulde not yeeld vnto it , many helde it more fit to call him Protector. The Prior himselfe was not well resolued of this point, suffring himselfe to be ledde ( as in all other his actions ) by the greatest number, and his most fauorites ; who to induce the people to performe this acte, in despight of some that woulde not assent, being then in question to builde a fortresse a little without Saint Areym, where there standes a small chappell dedicated to the inuocation of the Apostles, they spred foorth a rumour that *Anthony* shoulde go thither the 19. of Iune, to lay the first stone , and that all the people shoulde worke in that fortification, labouring in such an assembly to effect their desires. But there needed no great arte, for the people desirous of innouation, ranne all thither that morning. The Bishop of Parma being innocent, and he of Guarda of set purpose, came to the chappell where masse was celebrated, in the midst whereof they exhorted the assemblie to defence, and with darke speeches to make an election: But *Anthony* arriuing soone after, making his praiers a little without the doore of the chappell , the two Bishops went out to meeet him, with their Rochets to hallow the foundation of the fortresse , but the ceremonie was no sooner begun , but that *Anthony Barachio* an impudent fellow, (holding a handkerchief vpon the point of his sword) proclaimed *Anthony King*, being followed with great noise, and acclamations almost of all the companie , who to assure themselves of such as were not of that faction, or to shew a certaine valour drewe their swordes : At that time *Anthony* faining a certaine modestie, or thrust forwarde by his owne irresolution, cried no, no, and stopt forward as it were to stay the people. *Peter Contigno*, captaine of that place with choler woulde haue stopt their cries, saying that the Prior desired not to be called king ; but this preuailed nothing, for

*Barachio*

Baracchin bending his pistol against the captaine, put him to silence; by reason whereof he departed. Anthony whether it were for feare “ to see so many naked weapons about him, or that raised by such a “ meanes to that dignitie, bringes feare with it, he was amased and “ trembled, giuing notable signes to his followers, who helping him to horse at the first steppe he stumbled and almost fell, in signe of presaging ill. All the Nobilitie that was present followed him on foote, bare headed as King: And although a great part of the people were vnauidisly come thither, yet all followed him: From thence the Prior went to the church, and from the church to the house of the Magistrate, where finding the gates shut, he brake them open, and was there solemnly confirmed King, with ordinarie actes and writings, the which were signed by all the Gentlemen Portugals that were present, and *Emmanuel de Costa Borges* with a standerd in his hande, pronounced with a loude voice these wordes, *Reale, Reale*, as their cuictone is: Being then returned to his lodging, he prepared to go to Lisbone, there to be proclaimed King, as the principall place of the realme.

In the meane time *Velasco* was come to Oliuenza, where entering without stay by night the xix. of Iune, he was lodged by *Diego de Vasconcellos* at the request of the *Passani* of Eluas, and hauing the day following, requested the magistrate, and the Nobilitie, to assemble themselues in the Church of Pitie, there to receiue certaine letters from the king, being all assembled, he deliuered them; the which were publikely read, finding them full of courtesies: The conclusion was to sweare him king; *Velasco* pressed them to answere briefly. But as of light occasions sometimes grow important matters, so did it here, for the Nobilitie of this place being diuided into two contrarie factions; the one was called *Loby* and *Gama*, the other *Matti's*; it chaunced that the letters which the king had written vnto the Nobilitie, were by meere fortune first deliuered into the hands of the *Loby*, whereof the contrarie faction made a sinister construction, and the rather for that *Velasco* was lodged in the house of one of that faction: They resolued to contradict all, their aduersaries should propound: And for as much as at that instant there were more of the familie of the *Matti* in office, then of the *Loby*, seeing their enimies inclined to giue place vnto the king,

Two contrarie  
factions  
in Oliuenza.

they began to oppose themselues, and without making answere to the letter, they sent with all speede to the gouernours, and presently after going to the lodging of *Velasco*, they saide vnto him, that they could not giue answere, in a matter of so great importance, without good advise and aduertising of the gouernours, demaunding fower daies libertie, whereunto *Peter* answering, that he could give them no longer time then the next day morning, they departed vnsatisfied, saying that they feared nothing, for that God would succour them : wherewith *Velasco* discontented, woulde haue sent *Fratyn*, an Italian Ingeneur (who was then with him) to the Duke of Alua to request him to sende some troupes of soldiers within the view of the place to terrifie them ; yet being aduised by his friendes that were Portugals, and finding the people affected to the king, he staied : The faction of *Lby* with all their followers seeing the contradiction of the magistrate, assembled themselues in councell, making an acte in writing, signed by them all, whereby they protested that they were readie to obey the king. In this time *Marke Antionie Justinian* a gentleman of Genoa, friend vnto *Velasco*, and kinsman to the *Lby*, aduised him to leaue his lodging, and to talke to the people in the streetes, winning them with faire words, the which hauing effected, and gathering a great multitude about him, hee made vnto them a long discourse, shewing the profit they should receiue, in yeelding obedience vnto the king, and the hurt in following the opinion of the magistrate, seeing there was a mighty armie so neare them, wherewith the people who were easily changed seemed content, and following him to the Church of the holie Ghost where the Nobilitie was assembled, *Velasco* entred and saide vnto them : My maisters what shall we doe ? To whom Frier *Aluaro* in the name of the whole assenblie answered, that they were readie to serue his Maestic : Then *Justinian* ( raising *Velasco* from the ground) proclaimed the kings name, the which was followed by the whole Nobilitie, and likewise by the people, who going to the house of the magistrate, they called for the Judge and the Vereadours vpon great penaltie, who vnderstanding the people was mutined, and that *Philip* was proclaimed king, they were afraide, and went to yeeld their obedience, the which the castell did likewise, perfourming the ordinarie actes and ceremonies ; *Velasco* offering in

*The Capti-*  
*lique king*  
*sweorne at*  
*Olinenza.*

in the kings name many exemptions: In this manner but more quietly in other places, all this frontier did yeeld as Serpa, Mora, Campo maior, Arronghez; Portalegre, and in other places about the realme, they vsed the like diligence.

At this time *Anthony* was gone from Saint Arem to Lisbone: the Gouernors seeing that succeed which they had long foretolde, did fortifie at Settual, with the Duke of Bragance, and the Embas-  
*The gouernors neglect  
the defence  
of Lisbone.*  
fadors of the Catholique King, fearing the new King would march to them. They neglected the defence of Lisbone, supposing that *Peter de Cugna*, captaine thereof, and *Iohn Teglio*, who as is said, was at Belem with their procuration, woulde prouide for it, as they had commanded them, and had sent two officers of Iustice, to perswade the Citizens to make resistance: But the said *Teglio* ( who it may be with greater zeale then iudgement ) was one of those that woulde haue the cause determined, vnderstanding that *Anthony* was proclaimed king, was greatly discontented, for that offorce hee must leaue the government, and make his peace with King *Philip*, with greater difficultie, if he shoulde now seeke it: Besidesthat, *Anthony* did not acknowledge the crowne from him, and therefore greatly mooued, seeming also vnto him, that as Gouernour he did wrong his companions, (they being at Settual and he at Belem) to suffer the Prior so easilly to become Lord of Lisbone without blowes; he treated touching the defence thereof, being perswaded thereunto by the Magistrate, who requested him to enter the citie to that end, protesting that if the Prior tooke possession it shoulde not be their fault, which coulde not hinder it, but his who could and would not: By meanes whereof, although but coldly, he assembled many companies of peasants thereabouts, the which he sent for the guard of the citie, and to hinder the Priors entrie. He commaunded *Peter de Cugna* to take care for the defence thereof, being resolute not to enter himselfe, and hauing called to Councell, the Gentlemen that were present, they resolued to send with speed to *Anthony*, *Diego de Sosa*, and *Frauncis de Menezes*, entreating him not to enter into Lisbone, nor to call himselfe King, but onely Protector, being a name more fit for all occasions that might happen: And although they went with this commission, yet many aduised *Teglio*, that notwithstanding all these demonstrations, he shoulde not hinder the course  
of

of the Priors good fortune, so as wauering in his opinions, not resoluing in any thing, he was cause that the souldiers or peafants that were raised about the citie, hauing neither order nor commission from the Gouernors, knew not what to do, whether to accompanie the Prior, or hinder his entrie; for that *Emanuel* of Portugal who had projected to make the Prior King, laboured to preuent all their resolutions, and hauing resolued, he purposely made their executions vaine. *Peter de Cugna* saide, that if *John Teglio* woulde not oppose himselfe in person, that he woulde not accomplish it being his inferior; wherunto *Teglio* replied, that it was the captaines dutie, either of them excusing themselues vpon the other, both with seuerall intents.

The Prior drew neare to Lisbone, but he was in danger neuer to come there, for neare to *Sacaben* which is sixe miles from the citie, staying in the fielde to speake with *Frauncis de Almeda* his friende, there was a Harquebuse discharged at him, wherewith *Fr. uncis* was slaine, and no man able to discouer from whence it came, they supposed it was intended against the Prior himselfe. Soone after he arrived at the citie with a small troupe, especially of the Nobilitie, hauing fewe other with him but *Diego de Sifa*, and *Frauncis de Meneses*, and therefore they suffred him freely to enter, being of al those that mette him proclaimed king. There were fewe at that time within the citie, both by reason of the plague, and for that many helde not themselves in safetie, seeing the realme in diuision, on the one side the Catholique king entred with a mightie armie, on the other side were the Gouernors in a manner conformeable to the saide King; lastly was the Prior being poore alone, & ill aduised, made King, by a handfull of the base people: So as there was not any of the Iustice or Nobilitie that went to visite him, and of the Superior magistrates there was but one Vereador to be founde, the rest being hidden: Notwithstanding, he went to the pallace vpon the riuier, wheroft he tooke peaceable possession, as also of the Arcynal and storehouse of armes, he created a newe puruictor, and newe officers of Iustice, and newe Vereadors, supplying all other offices that were voide: From thence he went to the Towne-house to be proclaimed King with ordinarie ceremonies, all the principall of the citie being assembled, to whom *Emanuel Fonsequa Nobrega*, a doctor of a bolde spirite

*Anthonie  
arrives at  
Lisbone, and  
proclaimed  
King.*

spirite speake in this manner.

I see grauen in your countenances the ioy and content which is  
conceiuied in your harts , hauing attained to this so happie a daie,  
wherein you sweare him king whom you so much desire : I account  
all words fruiulous to animate you thereunto : I may speake vnto *The speech  
of Fonseca  
for the crea-  
tion of An-  
thonie.*  
you with courage, for that your desires exceede my eloquence : I  
know that euery small delay doth not onely grieue you, but also  
greatly displease you, that any other shoulde effect that first, which  
you haue so much wished , and which was fitte you shoulde haue  
done, seeing that from this citie as principall, the rest of the realme  
shoulde take their lawe. But be as ioyfull and willing to this acte as  
you please, be my wordes never so superfluous, yet encouraged by  
dutie and loue, I must briefly deliuer vnto you my aduise ; I will  
not make any particular repetition of his afflictions, nor with what  
iudgement he hath surmounted them being infinite , and the time  
shorte : Let it suffice you to vnderstande as you doe, that by a fatall  
destinic he hath alwaies encountered against the proud arrogancie  
of this world : For as vertues be ( by reason of our sinnes) most com-  
monly hatefull to princes in this age, and vices cherithed, as vertu-  
ous and nobly minded, he hath alwaies beene hated and oppressed:   
So as sometimes tearning him a bastard, somtimes preferring those  
whom he shoulde preceed, they laboured by all meanes to blemish  
that glory that did shine in him. I will lay aside the disgraces he suf-  
fred with king *Sebastian*, at his departure for Affricke , which others  
woulde haue taken for an excuse to staie, yet acquainted with the  
frownes of fortune, although he did iudicially foresee that he went  
to his ruine, he chose rather ( with so great danger of his person,  
following the rashnes of an other ) to remaine a slau vnto the  
Moores, then to blemish his honour with any reproch, how small so-  
ever. He remained prisoner as he had foreseen in that vnhappy  
day ; King *Sebastian* his nephew died , before whom many other  
princes all heires to the crowne were deceased , there remained  
none but Cardinall *Henry*, who for the ripenes of his age, and in-  
disposition of his body, was thought to be of short life , so as the  
realme was in a manner without heire . But the King of kings al-  
though he seemeth sometimes slacke, yet doth he equally weigh  
and execute al things, prouiding so, that whilest king *Henry* enioied  
the

„ the realme , in those fewe daies of his life which remained, he mira-  
„ culouslie deliuered from the hands of the Moores,him whom he in-  
„ tended shoulde be our true king : I say miraculoslie, for in truth it  
„ seemed impossible that mans wisedome coulde deliuere him , as it  
„ followed, for that according to the custome of those infidels,he be-  
„ ing a prince, he shoulde haue beene presented to their prince , and  
„ there kept in perpetuall prisou, or at the least redeemed for the ex-  
„ change of cities and fortreses, or for some great summe of money,  
„ yet ( see if this were not a miracle ) in short time he was deliuered,  
„ and without raunsome. He returned into the realme , where for-  
„ tune not yet wearie of him, crossed him with a thousand afflictions,  
„ all which he hath ouercome and surmounted by his vertues : be-  
„ hold him now heere , and although he seeme to be inuironed more  
„ then euer with enimies, yet doth he relie vpon your valour, and I in  
„ his wisedome, that he will vanquish all things: Reioice then that he  
„ doth accept of this scepter, against his competitors, for the loue of  
„ you doth more encourage him thereunto,then the desire of rule,of-  
„ fring to entreat you perpetuallie not as a King, but as a father, and  
„ brother to you all: Whom doe you esteeme him to be,to whome  
„ this day we giue the empire ouer vs ? It is the true stocke , the  
„ lawfull line, and the onely plant which remaines of our Kings, he is  
„ nephew to king *Emanuel* of famous memorie , borne of *Leves* his  
„ sonne, the greatest and firmest pillars , that euer Portugall had,to  
„ him these realmes appertaine by right : but if it were not so as it can-  
„ not be otherwise, yet shoulde we, flying the rest, cast our selues into  
„ his bosome,for by that meanes we shoulde haue assured libertie, and  
„ by the rest a most certaine bondage and tirannie. At the end of this  
speech, there was great rejoicing, and all cried out, a King, deliu-  
ering into his hands the standerd of the citie : *Emanuel Fonseca* pro-  
nounced from the windowes these words,as they were accustomed  
to doe, *Reale, Reale*, for *don Anthony* king of Portugall, the which  
was accepted by the people with great ioy : And hauing made de-  
claration in writing of this acte, the Prior returned to the pallace,  
where soone after taking the ordinarie oath to obserue the priu-  
ileges , and liberties of the realme , and all that other princes were  
woont to doe, he dispatched his messengers with letters to all other  
cities, and places, commaunding them to sende vnto him to yelde  
their

their obedience. He made many offers to the Duke of Bragance, and to the Marques of Villa Reale, entreating all other Noblemen to come vnto him to consult of matters concerning the realme : But the Duke perswaded likewise by the Deputies of the realme, to compound with *Anthony*, woulde not do it, the Marques went not, and fewe others did acknowledge him. But *Teglio* seeing the Prior now become king without his helpe, making shewe to go from Belem (where he remained) to Lisbone to kisse his hands, and hauing agreed with *Diego Lopez de Sequeira*, captaine of three galleyes that were in the riuier, he imbarkeith himselfe in one of them with the Bishop of Leiria, *Anthony de Castro*, Lord of Cascaies, *Martin Gonzales de Camera*, *Emanuel Teles Barreto*, *Frauncis de Menefer*, *Lewys Cesar putucior* of the Arcynal, with some others, carying with them fortie or fiftie thousand duckats in golde, which he had caused to be brought from the mihte at Lisbone, usurping them from *Iaqus de Bard*, a Florentine merchant, who was the owner. And in his departure, whē most men beleueed they should go to the citie, they tooke their course towards the sea, and went to Settuual, where the rest of the Gouvernours remained : yet two of the three galleyes disobeying their captaines, woulde not followe the foremost, but went to the citie. *Teglio* being arriued with his galleyes at the mouth of the forte of Settuual, the guard of the towne woulde not suffer him to enter, but kept him off with their cannon, being disimbarkeed a little on the one side, he went by land towards the Gouvernors, to discharge himselfe, but he was not receiued nor acknowledged of them as a companion, who both in their writtings, and their speeches with him, vsed him as a priuate Gentleman, and not as a Gouvernour, for punishment of that which he had done at Belem, and at *Anthony* his entrie at Lisbone : And this was the only thing wherein the Gouvernors shewed their authoritie, for in all other things they discouered their feare and inconstancie. The Prior seeing these men, whereof he helde some of them to be his confidant friendes to flie, to carrie away the money, and to ioine themselues with the Gouvernors his aduersaries who began to fortifie Settuual, discouered plainly that they had intelligence with the Catholique King : that they woulde entertaine themselves in that place, vntill the galleyes of Italy, which they vnderstood had beeene trimmed at Saint Marie Porte, shoulde

*The fighs of  
Teglio.*

arriue

arriue in those quarters, to giue them entrie at Settuual, whereby might ensue his ruine, for that the Catholique King entring there with a great armie, the citie of Lisbone shoulde be in a manner besieged, and therefore hauing first imprisoned some that were suspected vnto him, and demaunded money in loane from the merchants, he resolued with what speed he could to recouer this place, either by loue or force, induced to make this haste by the proceeding of *Tristan Vaz de Vrga*, captaigne of the fortresse of Saint Julian, at the mouth of Tagus, to whom hauing written, he made answere that he coulde not consigne him the castell, nor hold it in his name, alleaging that he had taken an oath not to deliuier it but to such as had put it into his hands, which were the Gouvernors; so as *Anthony* reseruing this for a second enterprise, hauing hastily and by force assembled the peasants about the citie; the artisans, slaves, and other people gathered together, which in all came not to fiftene hundred, he transported them to the other side of the river; but before he himselfe would passe, he sent *Francis of Portugal*, Count of Vimioso to Settuual, to treat with the Gouvernors, and to perswade them to yeelde to his obedience; to whom he did likewise write, that they shoulde not dishonour and vndoe themselues, seeing rather to giue the crowne to a stranger, then to him who was their countreyman, that they shoulde come vnto him, and he would freely forgiue all things: But the Gouvernors trusted neither to this letter, nor to the wordes of the Earle, being greatly bounde to the Catholique King, whereof some of them as favorites to king *Henry* had assisted to the sentences that had beeene pronounced against him: Therefore consulting with the Embassadors of the Catholique King, they resolued to defend themselues vntill the comming of the kings armie, the which they expected howerly. But this practise succeeded not, for the windes were still so contrarie, that the galleis coulde not arriue, the which the Duke of Bragance considering he woulde not attend but departed: The Counte of Vimioso, desirous to expell them from thence, hauing incensed the people to sedition, & aided by the guard of Halberdiers of the court, he tooke armes, and became master of the Porte, many ranne armed to the Gouvernors lodging, threatening with iniurious words to kill them: wherewith being feared and amazed, not onely the Gouvernors, but likewise

*The flight of the gouvernors.*

wife

wise the Embassadors of the Catholique King, and all the Nobilitie  
of the citie, which followed *Philips* faction, some fledde secretly out  
at the windowes, some by sea, some by land, except the Archbishop  
of Lisbone, and *John Teglio*, who onely remained, the one trusting  
in his calling, the other in the workes which he had formerly done  
in fauour of the Prior, and in his kinsemens. The Embassadors  
retired themselues the next day into Castill. This act in truth was  
full of compassion, for although the Gouernors for their irresoluti-  
ons and priuate interests deserued punishment, yet mens harts were  
mooued to see these graue olde men, in whom not two howres be-  
fore the roiall authoritie remained, fastned to ropes creepe out at  
windowes, to auoide the furie of a yoong licentious man, who had  
mutined the people, and the guard it selfe against them: Such of the  
Nobilitie as abandoning their houses in those partes, retired them-  
selues, were *Fernand de Norogna*, *Peeter de Meneses*, *Edward de Castel-*  
*bianco*, *Diego Lopez de Sequeira*, *Anthony de Castelbianco*, *Lewes Casar*,  
and some others. *Anthony* hauing aduertisement of their departure,  
passed the riuier, and went thither: Where he was receiued vnder a  
cannapie with signes of great ioy, & hauing giuen order to the for-  
tification, & guard of that place as it seemed necessarie, he returned  
to Lisbone, against the aduise of som, who persuaded him to assem-  
ble his forces to resist the enimie, & not to repasse Tagus: But he did  
it not, saying, he woulde returne presently, fearefull (as many suppo-  
sed) and not holding himselfe assured on that side the riuier: Cascaies  
and the fortresse of Saint Julian, did not yet obey him, yet vnder-  
standing that *Anthony* was possessed of Settuual, the wife of *Anthony Cascaies &*  
*de Castro* went from Cascaies, after whose departure the citie yeel-  
ded, and the captaine of the fortresse of Saint Julian, being written  
vnto by *Anthony*, that he woulde giue him fower thousand duckats  
a yeere rent, made answere, that seeing the Gouernors had aban-  
doned the realme, and that he was proclaimed king, he would hold  
it at his deuotion: By reason whereof, *Bastien de Britto*, who serued  
as sergeant maior of the citie of Lisbone, in the place of *Peter de*  
*Cugna*, turned head, who with certaine men gathered togither,  
went by the commaundement of *Anthony* to encampe about this  
fortresse, so as all places of importance about Lisbone, remai-  
ned at his obedience: So did all others in those parts except the

*Anthonie*  
arrived at  
Settuual.

*Cascaies &*  
*S. Julian*  
*yeelde to*  
*Anthonie*

citic

*The Duke  
of Bragance  
sendes to  
Philip.*

The Duke of Bragance hauing foreseen the sedition which was practised at Settual, being departed as it is saide, a little before the Gouernors flight, and gone to Portel, a place belonging vnto himselfe, neere the frontiers of the realme towards Castill, seeing iustice reduced to armes, and himselfe disarmed, he thought it nowe high time to treate with the Catholique King: He sent therefore a Gentleman to represent vnto him, howe peaceable he had alwaies caried himselfe in the persuite of Iustice for Katherine his wife; that he had never troubled the publike quiet, nor in any thing surpassed the ordinarie tearmes of Iustice and reason, and if he had not compounded with him, the cause was, for that he vnderstood his reasons were great, neither had he meanes to do it, by reason of the people who woulde haue withstoode him: Notwithstanding he was nowe resolute, if his Maiestie woulde make him a good composition, to yeelde vnto him all the rights of the saide Katherine, and that being agreed, he woulde publikely sende one to treate with him: He alleaged that his subiects being the thirde part of the realme, he coulde make easie, or greatly hinder the enterprise. He saide that the Deputies of the realme had made offer vnto him, that they would procure Anthony to leaue the title of King, and vnite himselfe with him, for the defence of the crowne, and that in the end they should agree: And that the said Anthony had sent to make great offers vnto him, the which he woulde not accept, not seeming reasonable vnto him. He requested his Maiestie to commaund the armie not to endamage his countrey: Heerein he spake truth, for although he were a quiet and religious man, yet the Philipins saide, that although he had beeene otherwise, the King had no cause to feare his forces, for albeit he had many subiects, yet were they not all obedient vnto him. That the Nobilitie abhorred his rule more then any other, and that some of his kinsmen did him more hurt then good, by reason of the emulation amongst the Nobilitie. He relied much on the equitie of his cause, yet feared he to bee forced by the kings power, which he saw prepared, supposing he woulde not receiuē judgement in the cause from any man. This feare had induced him to write to all the great Potentates in Christendome, shewing his reasons, and demaunding succours. The like office had he done with some Cardinals

dinall at Rome. He had sent into Fraunce diuers copies of his allegations, to the end they might be dispersed into England and other places, making great instance to the two Queenes to succour him with mony, munition, & captaines: But his weakenes being knowne to both, although hee gaue them to vnderstande he went to ioine with the Gouernors in defence, they returned him nothing but curtious words. And some say, that not content to vse this diligence, to such as were enuious of the kings good, he did likewise write to his enimies and rebels, desiring to treat with the Prince of Orange, and the Duke of Alançon. These things caused him more losse then profite, as it happens commonly to those that will contend with *the Catholique king*, and builde their foundations vpon the succours of *their enimies illwillers*, who wil not commonly declare themselues, except their companion be strong. Heereupon it grewe, that the King returned to the saide propositions so ample, and artificiall an answer: for (as it was reported) some of his letters had beene surprised by the Agents of the Catholique king, and some other, especially those he had written to Rome, were sent to the King by them, to whom he had written them. He answered, that he rejoiced, that *The Catholique king's answer to the Duke of Bragance.* in time he had auoided the sedition at Settuual, being troubled with the danger and indignitie he might haue suffred: That he knewe it to be true that in the persuite of the right of *Katherine*, he had carried himselfe with due modestie, but by refusing to agree with him were growne the inconueniences wherein now they were, the which he would gladly they shold rather haue foreseen, then haue made triall of, with so great disquietnes, and dishonor vnto themselues, for the which he was sory in regarde of the neerenes of bloud, and affection, he bare vnto the said *Katherine*; That his offer to yeelde him his right was acceptable vnto him, but he woulde haue them to vnderstand that there was no necessity, to adde new actions to those which God had giuen him, apparent to all the worlde. That he had then wished for two reasons they coulde haue accepted of his liberalitie, in recompence of their pretention: The first was, that he hoped by this meanes, he shoulde not haue beene forced to enter armed into the realme, and to make warre vpon his owne subiects, which is one of the things that doth most trouble him: But that good which might haue beene reaped by composition, was nowe extinct

extinct by their slacknes , seeing that his armie was alreadie entred the realme : The second reason was, the desire to encrease and prosper his house, to do good to his children, to auoide the ruine of the estate, and the hazard to ouerthrow it, whereof there was yet some remedie , for being so desirous of his good, that onely was sufficient to mooue him to doe them good : He said moreouer, that he was much amazed to heare him confess with his owne mouth, that they had daily practised with *Ant'ony*, that they treated with a rebell who had committed so horrible a crime , aduising him in signe of loue, heereafter to abstaine from all such treaties, so contrarie to that fidelitie whereunto they were bounde , and so vnwoorthie of their authoritie and reputation, shewing likewise, that he marueiled they woulde suffer themselues to be informed from the Deputies, who promised to cause *Anthony* to forsake the title of a king , which he hath vsurped, as if it were an offence capable of repentaunce, whereas they shoulde well vnderstand, that they be ordinary practices and discourses of rebels, to deceiuē them as they had formerly done : And whereas the Deputies call it an accord or vniōn for the defence, let them take heedt that it prooue not a league, and a conspiracie, framed to make him partaker with *Anthony* his offence, from the which God had yet preserued him: He concluded that he would alwaies giue a gentle audience to that which shoulde be propounded on his behalfe, with intention to doe him all the grace and fauor possible in his demaunds. This answere being receiued, the Duke sent certaine gentlemen to treat an agreement with the king, the which continued long, making vnseasonable demaunds on the Dukes behalfe : Notwithstanding the King desiring that before they proceeded further , he shoulde acknowledge and sweare him for his Lorde : The matter remained in suspence with small content to the Duke, who found not onely the hope of his Iustice to fall out vaine, but likewise not to be fully reconciled to the king, who tooke possession of his countreys, hauing alreadie lost Villauizosa, one of his chiefe places , and of great importance, where hee made his aboad, although he had well fortified it.

The which hapned presently after the reduction of Eluas, by the meanes of a Castillian whom he had left within the castell, either trusting in him, or neglecting of it. This man hauing intelligence

gence with captaine Cisneros, who was in the Dukes campe, treated *The taking of Villanizosa.* to deliuer vnto him in the night, one of the gates of the castell, the which descends into the ditch, thereby secretly to bring in the kings forces, the which he did effect. The night appointed for this enterprise being come, the Duke commanded Sanches d'Auila, to go with the soldiers he had about Eluas, and take possession of the fortresse, who hauing taken their Harquebusiers behinde them, marched so that night, that in the morning they came to Villauizosa, and approching the gate that was promised them, they founde that although it were open, yet coulde they not enter, for that being farre from the ground, the ladder which they had brought was too shorte, and coulde not reach vnto it, so as in dispaire to put it in execution, the day growing neere, they were readie to returne, fearing to be discouered. But as many times thinges are fittet to the violent course offortune, the Castillians founde within the castell ditch an other ladder, which the soldiers within the forte had by chance left there, the which bounde to that they brought, reached vnto the gate, so as all the soldiers entred the castell, without being discouered, hauing neither guard nor centinell, but were all laide to sleepe, hauing a mightie armie of enimies within tenne miles of them, so as in this manner the Duke of Bragance lost the best and strongest furnished place he had.

Many were then of opinion, the King shoulde not go in person with the armie, for although somchelde it was necessarie he shoulde goe, alleaging the former reasons, yet such as helde the contrarie *Reasons why  
the King  
should not  
goe in per-  
son.* opinion, added vnto their reasons, that throughout all the way vnto Lisbone, and in the citie it selfe, they died most violently of the plague, although the aire did not seeme corrupted, that it was not conuenient to hazard the life of a Prince, who was a pillar of the Church, and Lord of so many Realmes. That they might answere vnto the reasons of conuenience, which was spoken against this opinion, that it was like vnto all other humane things which haue two reasons, for waighing the one it importes much, and regarding the other, they seeme light: The importance of the enterprise is verie great, considering the valour of the realme, and his interest; but if you consider that they oppose against the person of so mightie a king, that of Anthony a rebell, who doth scarce deserue the name

of a tirant; and that with the Duke of Alua, and so many Noblemen, Italians and Spaniards, you compare the Count of Vimioso, yoong, without experience, and all the rest of their traine, and that against so valiant soldiers of all nations, there come peasants gathered togither from the villages about Lisbone, and the slaves of Ethiopia, you may easily iudge the great indignitie the king shoulde suffer being present in this expedition. They alleged the like reason against the hope of good successe; for although it seemed a matter easilie to be effected, considering the qualitie of the enemies, yet regarding the difficulties alleged, the matter was in suspence, remembryng the examples of King John the first of Castill, & Alphonse the fift of Portugall, either of them entring at diuers times with an armie, into other countries, and both returned flying and broken. As for the sweete content it seemed the Kings entrie shoulde bring, and contrariwise the sharpenes of the Duke of Alua, they saide it was well considered; yet the King remaining at Eluas, or in any other place vpon the frontiers, hee shoulde giue a generall content. This opinion seeming the better, and with most grounde, not onely pleased the King, but bred such an impression in the mindes of many, that it passed the limits, for that the cōsiderations of safety, are limited with feare, so as they began to apprehend too much, saying, the king was not sure at Badagios, and that he shoulde retire himselfe to Ciuell, vnder colour to dispatch away the armie, seeing it had already entred the realme: for the Duke marching from the frontier, the King shoulde lie open to all attempts of the Portugals, who might make their courses euuen vnto the walles of the citie. That Anthony seeking to make this diversion, he might easilie effect it with so great force, as the king shoulde be constrained to retire himselfe with small authoritie, and recall his armie, although it were about the wals of Lisbone; yet woulde not the king by any meanes heare speake thereof, but perfwaded such as were of that opinion, that for a worlde, no, for his owne life, he woulde not retire a foote backe, but was resolued to staie in Portugall, in some place of the frontiers, which shoulde be thought most conuenient, and for that effect reteined certaine troupes for his guard.

*The Kings  
army entred  
into Portugall.*

The Duke of Alua who had assembled his armie at Cantigliana passed the 27. day of Iunc, by the kings commandement, the small riuier

riuer of Caya, which diuides the two realmes, entring into Portugall with great quantite of munition and baggage, by reason wherof, he carried with him aboue sixe thousand chariots, and fiftie and twenty peeces of canon, and passing vnder the walles of Eluas, there was nothing to be done, being already yeelded : In three daies march he came to Stremos, receiuing all places thereabouts to obedience, which might be amazed at the bruite of the armie : But for that he laboured to assure the kings person aboue all, being entred two daies iourney within the countrey, he sent backe Peter *Manrique de Padilla* a knight of account, and well experienced in the warre, with two companies of men at armes, and Peter d' *Ayala* Marshall of the field, an old soldier, with a regiment of Spaniards, who lodged at Eluas, assuring those quarters from all reuolutions that might be feared : within Stremos was captaine *John Dazeuedo* <sup>The taking</sup> Admirall of the realme, yoong and hardie, who put himselfe in de- <sup>of Stremos.</sup> fence, and was cause that the armie made longer stay there, then at any other lodging : He (whē as the gouernors were yet at Almeryn) had obtained by the meanes of *Martin Gonzales de Camera* somewhat allyed vnto him, the Captainship of that place, and after being written vnto by *Anthonie* as king, he would not obey him, saying that he did not acknowledge any other superiour then the gouernours, to whom he had giuen his oath : At this time the Duke being arriued, he sent vnto him *Peter de Luna* a captaine of horse, with letters from the king, requiring his obedience, but he refused to yeeld it, for the same reasons he had giuen to *Anthonie*; he trusted more to the defence of the place, then the force thereof would warrant; and the rather for the diligence of *Diego de Meneses*, who when he had speech of the fortifying of Eluas, seeing it could not be effected, he had retired himselfe to Stremos, thinking there to make head, and having animated the people to defende it, he promised them great succours ; so as all agreeing with the Admirall, they were resolute to fight. At this time *Christopher de Mora*, who went from Settual to Badagios, passing through the citie, he perswaded the *Landin*, chiefe citizens to yeeld obedience vnto the king, and for that it was easie for them to turne the people as they pleased, they induced them soone to obey : So as the Admirall remained alone in his obstinacie, within the castell with some of his friends and familiars :

familiars, and although they laboured to bring him to obedience, yet would he not yeeld, excusing himselfe, that it appeered not vnto him, that the king was heire to the realme; neither did the comming of the Prior *Ferrant de Toledo* sonne to the Duke of Alua preuaile; who discouering him to be a man of small consideration, made offer vnto him, that the Duke should be bound, that whensoeuer it should appere that the realme appertained not vnto *Philip*, hee shoulde restore him to the place he now enjoyed: neither preuailed it to let him vnderstand that he could not resist, making answere obstinately, that when he had done his last endeavour, hee woulde abandon the place with the losse of his lite, seeming that he coulde not otherwise saue his honour. But this resolution lasted little, for discouering from the castell, that the Duke had already planted his artillerie, that those of the citie which had promised to defend him, were all against him, and that some Castillian soldiers were entred the citie, being all amazed, he resolued to retire himselfe, and leaue the fortresse, wanting courage to defend it; but in issuing foorth the Castillians tooke him prisoner, and led him to the Duke, who was in doubt whether he shoulde punish him corporally, to terrifie the rest by his first example; but he pardoned him, and sent him prisoner to Villauizosa, writing vnto the king, that he tooke pitie of him, being yoong and without experience. When the magistrate and the citizens had taken their oath, and done the accustomed ceremonies to obey the king, the armie marched towardes Mounte maior by the way of Arraialos, leauing Euora on the left hande, a citie of importance, but then greatly afflicted with the plague: But to the ende it shoulde not remaine behinde vnyeelded, the Duke sent thither *Henry de Guzman* with twentie horse to take possession thereof, both for that hee knewe it was vnpeopled, as also vnderstanding that *Diego de Castro* ( who was Captaine there ) and the principalles of the citie ( who were retired to their gardens thereabouts ) desired to yeeld their obedience, by reason whereof, the saide captaine and Magistrate being assembled togither a mile from the citie vnder the Portall of our Ladies church, there *Constantine de Brito a Notarie*, received a publike acte, whereby they deliuered the citie to his Maiesties obedience, the which they all assynd. The Duke beeing now arriuued, in fower daies

*Euora yeelded.*

daies march at Mount Maior the new, where hauing found no resi- *The taking  
stance, although the Counte Vimoſo had beene there a little before,  
of Mount  
Maior.*

taking possession thereof, he came within fower daies to Settuual, without wasting the countrey as is vſuall in warre; for he neither ſlew nor ſpoiled the inhabitants of townes, nor ſuffered them to tread downe the corne which was then ripe: It ſeemed that *Diego de Menes* had not ſhewed the fruits, that were expected of his valour within that prouince, nor of that heate wherewith hee vnder-tooke the defence, hauing for that cause refuſed the place of Vice-roy of the Indies, which is the greatest charge giuen in that realme: For hauing firſt from the Gouernours, and after from the Prior, re-ceived charge to defend the ſaide prouince, hee not onely negle-cted the defence, but also retired himſelfe. He excused this weake reſiſtance, ſaying, that the Gouernors had deceiued him, in not fur-niſhing him with armes, and other things neceſſarie, and that ha-uing no other armes with the people, but wordes, he was enforced to retire himſelfe. But whatſoever the cauſe was, all that part be-yond the riuier of Tagus, which is the moſt fertile within the realme, remained diſarmed and in pray to the enimie.

*Anthony his  
entrie into  
Lubone.*

*Anthony* being returned from Settuall to Lisbone, he was re-ceived with great ioy, being the firſt time he had entred as king: And although the infection with the diuision of the Nobilitie had much vnpeopled it, yet made they deuifes with great ſhewes of ioy. I will not leauē to report as a thing remarkable, that there was a cōpany of poore women which ſell thinges in the market place, the which marching in order like ſoldiers with their armes, ſhe which was their captaine in ſteade of a Halberd carried a fire panne, ſeeming to re-member the auncient battaile of Algibarotta, betwixt the Caſtillians and the Portugals, where theſe being conquerors, they vaunted that a Bakers wife had ſlaine ſeauen Caſtillians with a fire panne. The Gouernors who were fledde from Settuall to a castell, where-as *Ambroſe de Aquiar* was then captaine, imbarqued ſecretly, and their feare was ſo great, as not holding themſelues assured in any part of the realme, they were conduced to Ayamont, a citie belonging to the Catholique king vpon the frontiers, where being better aduised, they returned into the realme, putting themſelues in Caſtromarin with great diſcontentment: There they made a de-cree

cree repeating the deeds of *Anthony*, from the time of king *Henry* vnto that day, confirming the sentences which the said *Henry* had pronounced against him, calling him rebell, and troubler of the publique quiet. They declared (giuing testimonie of the intention of King *Henry*) that king *Philip* was the true successor. They commaunded all cities, places, Noblemen, and ministers of iustice, to obey him, resigning all their authoritie vnto him: And although it seemed that all Iustice was now reduced to armes, and that the King had no neede of this decree, yet was it of great importance both to iustifie his cause with the people, as also for that it made many cities to yeeld.

*Anthony's  
preparation  
for the de-  
fence of the  
kingdome.*

But *Anthony* made no reckoning of this sentence, preparing for defence vpon the right side of the riuier of Tagus, hee had yet no other nation but Portugals, and such as he coulde gather togither, wherewith he could not frame a campe vpon any necessitie; for that the peasants and the people, which were not entertained for the warre, coulde not abandon their trades to goe to fielde, and therefore he desired to haue mercenarie soldiers, and finding that *Frauncis Baretto* staied long to bring any from Fraunce, he dispatched *Peter Dora*, then Consul of the French in that realme, into Fraunce, giuing him money to leuie two thousand men, he named *Diego de Meneches*, his Lieutenant generall, and gaue the charge of his armie at sea, to *George de Meneches*: He vnderstode well the course of the Catholique armie, but trusting as well in the people as to the passage of the riuier, he seemed to be well able to defend himselfe: Hee grewe doubtfull ( being ill aduertised ) that whilst the Duke marched by small iourneys towardes Settuall, seeming to go thither, he should take the way to Saint Arem as some would suppose, there to passe the riuier of Tagus with more ease, being narrow, and after to march by land against Lisbone, without regard of smaller towns; Hauing therefore grounded a great part of his hopes vpon the defence of the passage of the riuier, being amazed with this newes, he sent to furnish it with men and armes: But vnderstanding afterwards that the Duke was in truth approched to Settuual, that he had taken Alcazar, which is neere vnto it, he called back the men which he had sent to Saint Arem, and with some others which hee had forceable gathered togither, he sent them to Settuual, forcing the Gentlemen

one after an other, and all in generall to go thither, sometimes with punishments, sometimes with entreaties, and sometimes with promises of exemptions and priuiledges : But for all this no man went willingly, and such as were forced complained greatly. The Nobilitie was small in number, and such as were there, nothing resolute, the people easie to change vpon euery light occasion, were slothful, hauing conceiued an opinion that it was not lawfull to fight against Christians, so as some fled, some hidde themselues, and some complained. The kings ministers being newe men ill affected, and not fashioned to commaund, as those which had the reines at libertie, did tyrannize with absolute authoritie, forcing al men with an vnaccustomed rigor, to fight against their wils. At that time they did tolerate within the citie infinite disorders, and thefts to draw money from the merchants : they imprisoned some which woulde not presently paie that which was demaunded of them ; If any tooke horse to goe out of the citie about their busines, sodainly they saide they fledde into Castill, and with this slander they seased vpon their persons and goods. Hee was vnhappie that did commend the Catholique kings forces, for he was either stoned, imprisoned, or condemned in a great summe of money, they tooke from all men by force their horse and armes, who so had little credite or no acquaintance with these new officers, were ill assured : Such as had reckonings to make with the Courte were in ill case, for they were forced to paie what they did owe, without compensation of what was due vnto them : For this cause, and for that they seemed friends to quietnes, some of great meanes, and verie honorable were imprisoned. The barbarous decrees, the commaundements that were made to surcease the paiments and rents, to binde euerie man to retire into the citie, and stande to the defence, the opening and spoiling of houses that were shut vp were infinite, there was nothing but rigour, and rudenes, and all was executed by men who with their ignorance & bad inclination, exprely to cause disorders, made commaundements inobseruable, the crosses of militarie orders, especially those which carrie the title of knights of Christ, sometime held in reputation, were now giuen to many base and vnwoorthie persons, by the intercession of one or other. The new Christians who were never admitted to these orders, nor to the degree of Nobilitie, nor to any royall

*Disorders  
at Lisbone.*

royall offices, were sodainely by the fauour of this man mounted to what degree they pleased, not for that he was beholding to anie that had succoured him in the time of his necessities, but for that he was easily perswaded by whōsoeuer. The black Negroes to whom (for the great number there is of them in the citie of Lisbone) armes were defended, were sodainely all armed, and as it were free, commaundement being made, that all such as woulde serue in this warre vnder capitaines, likewise Moores assigned for that purpose, might do it against the will of their masters, and without payng; for which cause, all the slaues being assembled, and conceiuing the Kings commaundement to be more in their fauour then it was, shaking off the yoke, leauing their patrons, they ranne vnto the citie, where taking horse and armes by force where they found them, they committed a thousand insolencies. They coined money in the name of *Anthony*, a quarter lesse then it was woont to be, the reue-new of the crowne was wasted, for besides that he extorted from the treasurers what he coulde, he laide handes vpon the iewels of the crowne, and vpon that most renownmed (by the Portugals) saddle and furniture for a horse, enriched with stones brought from the Indies, which was of great value. The money which *Henry* had gathered togither for the raunsome of the Portugals, which were slaues in Affricke, was consumed and wholly spent: And this liberty proceeded so farre, that they sought into religious houses, for the money which they thought had beene there laide in guard, and ha-  
ving founde some, although it appertained to friendes, and faithfull persons, to orphans, and pupils, yet was it seased on, without number or weight, togither with the siluer vessels of the same churches, the which was violently carried away in some places, and in other places with the consent of the religious men themselues: Neither were the iewels and treasure which *Marie* the couesen of the said *Anthony* left, more assured, being giuen to godly vses, for the good of her soule: For notwithstanding he were greatly bound vnto her, yet he tooke them, & conuerted them to his own vse. They gaue liber-  
tie to religious men to arme themselves, imploying them in militarie charges, to the scandall of the people, and all good and religious men, and without any fruite. Many of the better sort remembiring the time past, and that wherein king *Sebastian* raigned blamed them-  
selues,

selues, for then they complained of the arrogancie of his fauorites, who they saide had neuer done any harme: They blessed king *Henrie* saying, that although he knew not, in the small time of his raigne how to governe himselfe as hee ought, yet did hee neuer erre in will, or suffred himselfe to be so easily seduced by any to the hurt of an other. They cursed the Gouernors who had beene so slowe to resigne the gouernment, concluding that rathnes had raigned with *Sebastian*, irresolute arrogancie with *Henry*, confusion with the Gouernors, and iniustice with *Anthony*. Some excused this last with weake reasons, saying, there was nothing done amisse by his commandement, being curteous & wel inclined; but that the greedy covetousnes of many of his followers caused this excesse, who hauing long suffred whilst he was persecuted, coming now to rule they satisfied the selues, making things vnlawful tolerable, & that the Prior durst not deny their demaunds, nor punish the offenders, both for that the time was vnsit, as also to auoid the name of vnthankfull, in punishing such as had aided and succoured him, when he was abandoned of all the world, for the seuerent sentences of King *Henry*.

## THE SIXTH BOOKE.

The Contents of the sixth Booke.

*The conquest the Catholique King made of Settuall, and  
of the fortresse: The arriuall of his sea-armie, there:  
The thoughts of Anthonie: The voiage of Cardinal  
Riario into Spaine: The passage of the armie from  
Settuall to Cascayes, And the retraite of Diego de  
Meneses, with his Portugall soldiers: The confu-  
sion of things in the citie of Lisbone: The taking of  
Cascayes, and of the Castell: The death of Diego de  
Meneses: Anthony marcheth with his troupes to  
Belem, & to Alcantara: A pardon sent by king Phi-  
lip vnto the Portugals to draw them vnto him: The  
treaties of Pacification: The deliuerie of the rocke of*

*The sixth Booke of the  
Saint Julian, and of the fort: Of Cabesa Secca be-  
ing abandoned, & the taking of the towre of Belem.*



*The taking  
of Settual.*

He Duke of Alua drew by small iourneies neere vnto Settual with his armie, marching with small order, and without feare, as they are accustomed to do in their friends countrey: But approaching neere, calling the chiefe commanders he saide vnto them; That although they had hitherto neglected all militarie discipline, being so farre distant from their enimies, now approaching neere vnto them, they ought not to contemne them, chieflie hauing Settual so neere, a citie of importance, wherein it was likely, there was a great garrison: and therefore that euery one heereafter shoulde carefully doe his dutie, lodging his campe within the gardens on the north side. He presently sent a trumpeter to signifie vnto them of the towne, that he was come in the name of the Catholique king to take possession thereof as his owne, that they shoulde open him the gates, threatening them if they did otherwise, with all the miseries that did followe warre, offring both to the inhabitants and to the souldiers, to leaue their persons and goodes free, if they would obey. Those within irresolute and deuided, demaunded time to aduise: And for that we doe vsually regard our owne private profit more then any other thing; the Citizens viewing from the wals, the soldiers to cut their vines, and spoile their banks of salt, whereof there is great abundance in that place, would presently haue yeelded vpon any cōdition. The marriners & some few soldiers made a cold shew of resistance: Yet *Francis Mafaregnas* who was captaine of the city, & *Diego Boteglio* the yonger, who commaunded the soldiers, (hauing well considered the weake-nes of the wals, and fearing the enimie neere, whom they little regarded a farre off) were more enclined to yeeld then to anie thing else, neither did it behoue him to linger long vpō this resolutiō: For *Leves Donar* had practised with a Frenchman, who was captaine of a cōpanie within the citie, to deliuer him in the night, the gate which he had in guard, the which he had performed, but the citizens being formerly resolued, sent *Simon de Miranda* vnto the Duke, to offer him obedience, but he could not execute his Embassage: for the sol-  
diers

diers of the citie, who were priuie to the resolution of the commaunders, being issued forth to go to Lisbone, they found the said *Simon* without the gates, & saying that he had betraied them, they led him by force to *Anthony*, who kept him in prison; notwithstanding presently after, the soldiers of the armie were brought in without condition or order. It is true that in this time the Duke had planted his cannon, & was resolued to batter it, & for a punishment of the slack resolution of the inhabitants to yeeld, their suburbs were spoiled, so as we may well say, that one of the most important cities of the realme was taken by threatnings, neither did the wars seeme yet to haue any beginning. The Portugal soldiers(as I said) departed free, only *Diego Boteglio* not trusting to the Duke, or seeming to be one of those that had actually serued *Anthony*, would haue fled secretly by sea, but he was taken & kept prisoner. The towre which keepes the entry of the Port, remained yet in the hands of the Portugals: The which, for that it was a place of hard accessse, & vneasie to bring the canon to it, although it were small and weake, yet was it held by the Portugals to be strōg, the rather being backed towards the sea with three gallions armed, which had beeene sent from Lisbone, vnder the command of *Ignace Rodriguez Volofo*: And although it were manned with few soldiers, yet had it no need of any great number, not being capable of many: It was well furnished with Cannoniers, sufficient artillerie, and a captaine, who amongst the Portugals was counted valiant. They attened at Settuual the armie at sea with great deuotion: For besides that the short season for galleies to liue in that sea began to weare away, if they had made any longer stay, the armie at land had presently fallen into great want of victuals and munition: For this reason the Duke desired to make himselfe with all speede master of the fortresse, & therefore he greatly entreated *Mendo de la Mota*, (for so the captaine was called) to consigne it vnto him; the which he refusing, the Duke added some promises in the Kings name, but they preuailed not: And for that *Aluaro de Bassan Mar-* The arrinall  
of the Mar-  
ques of Saint  
Crux, with  
the armie  
by sea.  
*ques of Saint*  
*Crux, with*  
*the armie*  
*by sea.*  
*Aluaro de Bassan Mar-*

*departed from S. Marie Porte, hauing run all the coast of Algarues, and reduced many cities of that countrey to the kings obedience, was now arriued in this sea, with threescore galleis, and some round vessels, to the great contentment of the campe. The Duke was for-*

ced, hauing with great labour made his platforms, to plant fower peeces of cannon, and to lodge his footemen for the force thereof, to the end the galleies hauing no other porte of retreate, should not be forced by the windes to runne any other course, whereof he gaue the charge to *Prosper Colonna*: But the artillerie was no sooner planted, whereas it might annoy one of the gallions, that was approached neerer land then the rest, the which being subiect to the Castillians cannon, which slew three or fower of their men, they presently hoised sailes, entring the porte to yeeld, where they were in great danger; for those within the tower seeing them goe to the enemie, discharged all their artillerie against them: *Coloma* turned the artillerie against the forte, and beginning to batter, the assiegued fainting, chiefly hauing viewed the armie at sea, yeelded, vpon condition to depart with their liues, and bagge and baggage, the which were stricter conditions then had beeene formerly offered. But the Duke although hee were well pleased with the successe, yet did he not seeme to allow that *Prosper* shoulde receiue it with these conditions, seeing they had indured the cannon, seeming that the assiegued that had not obeied vpon the first shotte of the cannon were not woorthie of pardon: Then the galleies drew neare, and hauing quietly taken the other two gallions, they entred within the Porte.

*The yeelding of the forteesse.*

*Three poore women cry-  
ing to An-  
THONY to suc-  
cour Set-  
tunial.*

*Anthony's  
care to suc-  
cour Settu-  
nial.*

They had some intelligence at Lisbone of the taking of Settunial, yet not assured thereof, but by hearesay and conjectures; so ill was the Prior informed, that by this meanes hee was subiect to believe many lies: whilst he was yet in suspence, three poore women with their haire about their eares, came to the palace, weeping and crying, that for the loue of God he would cause their husbands to be succoured, who alone fought vpō the wals of the citie against the whole armie of the Duke of Alua, not being rescued by the soldiers, nor any other, being all traitors: And for that we more easily beleue what we desire (although it be not likely) then what reason telleth vs, he beleued that what these women had reported was true, and mooued with their teares and lamentations, turning to the Counte of Vimioso, who had alreadie made offer to goe, without any further advise, hee commaunded him to assemble what forces he coulde, and for the honour of the Portugals bloud, goe succour that place. To that end they assembled the whole people by ringing

of

of the bels with other diligence; so as they imbarqued some by loue, some by force, some armed, some vunarmed, without knowledge who shoulde leade them, howe they shoulde march, or what they shoulde do: Feare did nothing reteine them, for as yet they had neuer seene the enimie in the face, and therefore not onely the youth ranne thither, but old men armed with heades and handes shaking, imbarqued, themselues not pressed thereunto (being freed by their age) but vpon a certaine naturall hatred: Many religious men ranne through the citie on horsebacke with their naked weapons in hande, incouraging the people to imbarque. The women of base condition made the aire deafe; the churches were full of sighings and lamentations, which they powred foorth with their foolith praiers, whereby it seemed they knewe not what they demaunded, for they praied for Christendome, as if they had beene besieged by Infidels: It was the 19. day of Iuly, the heate being extreame, and these poore wretches who were imbarqued, (attending the course of the water, burned with the sunne, not yet a span from the banke) began to suffer thirst, so as many repented, and would gladly haue returned if they could. But they remained in this estate vntil fowre of the clocke in the afternoone, reckoning after the French manner: at what time *Anthony* going alongst the riuier, rejoicing to see so many readie to do him seruice, there arriued a Carauell from Settuual, which brought certaine newes of the successe; the which although it pleased these people, who (halfe dead with suffring) disimbarqued againe, yet it greatly displeased the Prior, who hauing beene there in person, and furnished it with armes and munition, as much as he coulde possible, and as he thought was conuenient, he had conceiuied an assured hope, that it shoulde holde out long, but seeing it nowe so shamefully lost, he grewe amazed: And although he durst neither in worde nor deede make shew of any feare, yet as it were foretelling the mischiefe he was greatly troubled with him-  
The counsell  
of Antonius  
and his reso-  
lutions.  
selfe: And for that in the counsels of such as be afflicted, such seemes alwaies best, as cannot be executed, hauing lost the occasion, "he began now to consider, that he had done ill in not following the "counsell of such as aduiseth him not to take vpon him the title of "King, for with the name of Protector which he might haue taken, it "seemed vnto him that he might at al times haue made an honorable peace,

peace. But that nowe being king proclaimed and sworne with subscribing it in so many places, although he had not suffered any one to kisse his hands, nor taken the scepter, it seemed vnto him difficult, and almost impossible to leauue the title but with his life, yet hauing well considered by the euent, that his affaires were weake and vnstable, he founde the enimie to be mightie, and so farre aduaunced in the enterprise, that he had no meanes to staie him, nor make him relinquish armes: He founde himselfe abandoned, as a man may say, of the whole realme: For the Duke of Bragance the greatest of all the nobilitie, hauing made an agreement with the Catholique king, had retired himselfe expecting the euent: The Marques of Villa Reale, who had giuen him hope to ioine, appeered not, and almost all the other great personages of the realme, and a great part of the Nobilitie, had followed the examples of these, for that some went openly to Badagios, to acknowledge the Catholique king for their Lorde; some others staied, to suite themselues according to the occurrents, so as the least part came to him, and these were such men, as neither loue, nor their owne desires, but feare, shame, and their owne priuate considerations had drawne vnto him; for some filled themselues with vaine hopes, by reason of the great familiaritie they had with him; some others being present, coulde not but followe him; and others for the rigorous commaundements he had made, that euery man should come and acknowledge him, came fearesfully, whereof some stooede more in awe then others, for such as had their goods and persons any thing retired, made small account of his commaundement; and such as were neere, as more subiect to the execution thereof, came of force, faining great affection: From these counterfeit lookes of the rebellion of cities, of the retraite of some to Badagios, of the report daily made vnto him, of thinges which bred doubt in him, sometimes of the fidelitie of one, sometimes of an other: he grewe icalous that he shoulde one day be deliuered into his enimies hands, by such as he faououred most, to warrant their persons from the great danger wherein they were: And this icalousie did so encrease, that he imprisoned *George de Meneses*, captaine generall at sea, hauing wrongfully beleued, that he had treated to yeelde the armie to the enimies, and to conduct them within the Porte of Lisbone. Heereunto they added that halfe the realme

*Antonies  
feare.*

realme was lost, for all that part of Tagus towards Andelouzia was poisessed by the Castillians, and if there were any corner thereof where they had not beeene, as at Begia, and some other places of the realme of Algarues, either they made no reckoning thereof, or they had compounded; and the other moitie of the realme, where the enimies had not beeene, was almost all in suspence, for the citie of Porto which is the principall, and almost all the rest which lie betwixt the riuers of Doro and Migno, did not yet fully obey, desirring since they were come to armes, to see who shoulde haue the better, onely Coimbra was more at his deuotion then all the rest, and shewed it selfe more of *Anthony*es faction then the whole realme; for in the beginning of Iuly it began to rise, at the perswasion of *John Rodrigues de Vasconcellos*, a gentleman and a priest, whom *Anthony* had sent thither, expelling *Peter Guedez* gouernour thereof, who fledde with the *Corygidor* in great hazard of his life, and if the plague had not then afflicted the citie, the disorders had beeene greater; yet this was but one citie onely: whereas contrariwise *Saint Arem*, the first place where he was proclaimed king, beganne to rise against him, for the pacifying whereof, he sent *Emmanuel de Sylua*, one of the first moters of this popular humour which made him King, so as he had scarce any citie remaining but Lisbone, whereof he had no great confidence, although the common people by their accustomed braggings, shewed him great affection; in this so apparant danger hee founide not any of so many Potentates enclined to succour him, who in reason should not willingly haue seene his enimie aspire to such greatness. So as afflicted with these thoughts, he had easily followed the counsell of an accorde, although the fidelite of the Portugals, and the name of King woulde not suffer him, yet hee had no man about him that coulde perswade him, but was cured by contrarie remedies: For taking counsell with *Diego Boteglio* the elder, his familiar, who had followed him in all his disgraces; and with those of the house of Portugall; although his flight, if he would haue attempted it, were stopped, and small hope of victory in bataille, yet coulde he not agree and yeeld to fortune, but resolued to defend himselfe: In which resolution he was confirmed by the Bishop of Guarda, who as a bolde man woulde haue his opinion passe in all things: For he saide the Catholique king was not so mightie

*The resolu-*  
*tions of An-*  
*thony, and of*  
*his counsell.*

*The Bishop*  
*of Guarda*  
*seconds An-*  
*thony.*

as was supposed, that his Spanish soldiers, were new and vntrained, that he woulde not drawe foorth of Italy his trained men, fearing that being busied in Spaine, the realme of Naples, or the state of Millaine shoulde reuolt: That the Italians and Germanes were few in number, for besides there were many dead, it was not safe to bring any great numbers into Spaine, a prouince that is weake, and hatefull to all other nations: That at this present when as the brute should be of his taking armes, the States of Italy, of Nauarre, and of Arragon woulde rebell: That the Turke woulde descend vpon his realme of Naples: That Castill it selfe being greeued and ouercharged with impostes, woulde reuolt: That Fraunce, England, and a part of Germany, would come presently with many men to his succours, or at the least in assailing the other prouinces of the Catholique king, diuert the warre, saying, it had not yet succeeded, the time being too short to giue them notice of his election, or receiue an answere: That the realme was mightie enough of it selfe to defend it selfe, on this side the riuier, vntill his friends had meanes to succour him: These things being deliuered vnto him by his friends with so great efficacie, and faining to haue receiued aduise, they did somewhat encourage *Anthony*, besides that, the desire to raigne makes the vnbeleeuing, credulous: These men besides their aforesaide priuate passions, although they did well vnderstand the weaknesses of the realme, and the lightnes of their reasons, were blinded with two things, whereby they perswaded *Anthony* from composition.

*The counsell of Anthony ill grounded.* The one was, that knowing the offence to the Catholique king to be so great, that although they shoulde obtaine their pardon, yet should they never receiue grace nor fauour, but remaine still in feare of their liues: The other was to enjoy in the meane time the gouernment of the realme, the which in a manner was all in their hands, attributing vnto them selues the principall offices, so as for the affection they shewed vnto the crowne, it seemed that *Anthony* bare them respect, and in a manner subiectio[n], so as the feare of life, and the sweetenes of rule, made them obstinate. Amidst these doubts, the Prior was not without hope of some succours from Fraunce, for that *Frauncis Baretto* being first of all sent by the Gouvernors, and then the Consull of the French by himselfe, with some little money, he expected at the least one of them shoulde appeare with

with men, although the Gouvernors had sent *Baretto* more to please the peoples desire, with this shewe, then for any will they had hee shoulde worke it in effect, being dispatched with ample commissi-  
ons, they daily by their messengers restrained, and in a manner re-  
uoked them, so as he effected nothing of importance: And although that *Anthony* had written vnto him, yet was it late, and the Consull  
of the French hauing receiued money, staid still in Fraunce to take his pleasure, so as they expected succours from those parts in vaine,  
chiefly by reason that the Agents of the Catholique king laboured greatly that court, to keepe the Portugals from their desire. True it is, that when *Anthony* founde them so slowe in comming, and that the Catholique Kings galleyes were masters of the sea, he began to be out of hope. Then grew a confusion and disorder in all thinges, and forasmuch as their mindes were greatly troubled, all without rest, and all terrified, it chaunced that the night following the daie, when as they had receiued newes of the losse of *Settuall*, by reason of the flight of some Castillian marchants, who held not themselves secure within the city, they tooke an allarum, with great amasement, crying that the enimie entred by many places, and as there was no ordered discipline, nor any man that knew what they should vnder-  
take, the feare was so great, the confusion such and so vnreasonable, the running of people vp and downe to demaund what it was, and to seeke for flight, adding therunto the terror of the night, in so great and well peopled a citie, that there coulde not be seene a greater confusion. And although at the rising of the sunne hauing discouered the truth, this feare vanquished, yet did there a greater seaze vpon euery mans minde: for vnderstanding in trutth the Duke to be strong, they began to heare newes of the soldiers insolencies, which disbanded and drewe daily neerer, giuing no small astonishment to see certaine Negro slaues returne wounded, who hauing rashly passed with their ensignes to the other banke, were ill entreated by some horse and shot of the enimie: They founde that *Anthony* made no preparation, neither had he any forces to resist, gouerning himselfe with small iudgement, and therefore he neither knew how to fight, nor which way to flie, neither yet how to yeelde himselfe: He was daily in counsell with his men, but as he suffred himselfe to be gouerned by many, whose authorities were equall, and

*An allarum  
at Lisbone.*

*Anthony of-  
fers to con-  
pound.*

and their opinions diuers, so did he neuer resolute any good thing, as it hapneth often in the like accidents. They then propounded more plainly then before the treatie of an accorde, and although some, who before did seeme brauest, shewed themselves nowe more milde, yet for that the Counte of Vimioso being a yoong man, perswaded to warre, no man durst contradict him: He affected the charge of generall, but hee knewe not by what meanes to displace *Diego de Mnezes*, who enioied it, so as contraryng one an other, they prouided slowly for things necessarie, whereunto was a great hinderance, the credite that *Anthony* gaue to *Edward de Castro*, a rich yoong man, to whom he was bounde, hauing furnished him with money, who desirous to shew himselfe valiant, obtained a commision to assemble what horse he coulde vnder his cornet, employing him in matters of greater authoritie, then was fitte for his base qualitie.

*Cardinall  
Riario sent  
Legatis into  
Spaine.*

His holines hauing intelligence of the refusall the Catholique king had made, touching his entermedling in the cause, doubted least the wars of Portuzall shoulde alter the quiet of all Christendome. In the beginning hee had shewed himselfe newter to both Kings, seeming to bee doubtfull in himselfe to whether part hee should encline: whether vnto *Henry* that woulde give the crowne vnto the Dutchesse of Bragance, or to *Philip* that sought it for himselfe; for by reason of state he shoulde not be wel pleased to see these two realmes united, whereby the Catholique king shoulde become more mighty and superior in forces, to all other princes: yet did he not willingly seeme to oppose against him, fearing to displease a Prince that had deserued well of him: But vnderstanding that the two kings were agreed, and that *Henry* had changed his minde, and laboured to giue the realme to *Philip*, he then made it manifest that he would faour *Anthony*, and the Portugals, the which was more apparant after the death of King *Henry*, when as hee laboured to haue the cause of succession ended by sentence: But *Philip* in regard of the qualitie of the iudges, detested this decision. But his Embassadours hauing laboured in vaine in this respect (*Philip* growing iealous, and not greatly trusting the Popes good meaning) woulde not put to compromise, that which he seemed to holde certaine: His holines determined to sende a Cardinall into Spaine, expressly

to

to treat vpon this busines: Therefore before the Prior was proclaimed king, he dispatched Cardinal *Alexander Riaro* his Legat vnto *Philip*, with commission to dissuade the king from armes, and from thence to passe into Portugall, to fauour this busines, with commission likewise to offer himselfe for iudge in the Popes behalfe vnto all the pretenders.

There were diuers discourses in Spaine vpon the comming of this *Legat*; and although the Castillians feared not his sentence, seeing hee shoulde not offer himselfe alone to determine so great a matter in Spaine, if he had no meaning to pronounce it in fauour of *Philip*; yet they helde it not conuenient to put the matter into his hands, being of opinion that the Pope vnder colour to perfourme the office of a generall father, came (as it is saide) to make himselfe absolute iudge of realmes: that besides the extraordinarie authoritie he shoulde draw vnto the Apostolike sea, hee shoulde binde the King vnto his house, by giuing him a kingdome. For this cause the King hauing intelligence of his departure from Rome, desirous to take possession of the realme before his arriall, hee commaunded throughout all Spaine where he shoulde passe, that he shoulde be entertained and receiued with all possible pompe, whereof the Legat taking no heede, he accepted of all their kindnes. For this cause, and for that the voiage was long, he spent much time; being arriued at Badagios, he found that the affaires had taken an other forme then when he was at Rome: For he vnderstood that *Anthony* was King, and that *Philip's* forces were entred Portugall, being then at the wals of Settuall: Finding therefore the matter he had to treate of thus altered, he sent to his Holines for new direction, being in the meane time lodged without the citie in a couent of religious men which go barefoote, he sent *Trajan Mario* Apostolike Prothonotarie, to visite the King, who receiving him with great fauor, said vnto him, that he was right sorie, that by reason of his sicknes he could not go to mecte the Legat, as he was bounde; but when God should giue him health he woulde then perforne it, supposing by this meanes to entertaine him the longer, that the Cardinall (desirous to enter with accustomed ceremonie) would attend his recuperation, and in the meane time the Duke of Alua should take possession of the realme. But the Legat seeing his indisposition, & finding how

*The Legat  
visites the  
King.*

how much delay did import, craued leauue to come to him by night priuately in coach, the which with great difficultie was graunted, comming vnto him one night, accompanied with the Duke of Of-funa, and the Earle of Chinchion: But this audience was of small effect, for the Legat by the alteration of the affaires being irresolute, and the Catholique King most resolute to proceede in this enter-prise, trusting more to armes, then wordes, there was no agree-ment, the king saying, that the matter was so farre aduaunced, as it coulde admit no treating. The Cardianll was lodged in the house of the Marquesse D' Oignion, not being receiuied at his entrie with the ceremonies accustomed for a Cardinall Legat: Hee remained a while without doing any thing, but to effect the Popes cōmission, he would passe into Portugall. The King who desired to stay him, entertained him all he could, supposing that the Legat being with-in Lisbone, it woulde be scandalous to goe against him with an armie: Moreover, he had no great confidence in the Legat, but held him as suspect, for that being before in Portugall with Cardinall Alexandryn, he had entred a strict league of amitie with the Duke of Bragance, one of the pretendents, who had lodged and entertain-ed him: So as to delay his departure, the King being now recou-ered of his sicknes, sent vnto him, that he woulde not haue him take his iourney before he had made his entrie with the ceremonies ac-customed to a Cardinall Legat; and therefore requested him to go out of the citie, and he would meeet him with due ceremonies, the which he did: By meanes of which delay, causing some to advise him not to depart, he entertained him so long that he went not.

*The sundrie  
opinions for  
the passage  
of the army.*

The Duke of Alua hauing nowe taken Settuall, he hastened forward: for the realme of Algarues and many other cities in those parts, hauing sent him word that Lisbonc being taken, they would obey, he held all that reduced, that lieth on this side Tagus towards Castill, meaning to passe his armie on the other side of the riuier, and so march against Lisbonc: He stooode in suspence where he shoulde passe, whether beneath Lisbonc towardes the mouth at Cascayes, or aboue against Almerryng, and passe at Saint Arem, or else to sende the galleis, althdugh with some daunger within the river of Tagus, coasting along the left banke, and he himselfe to goe to Almada or Casillas, there to imbarque with his armie, and so to passe to the other

other side : The passage of Cascaies albeit it were neerer, yet was it more dangerous : For although hee might well passe from Settuall with his galleis, yet was there not any shoare, or convenient place to lande, which was not fortified and furnished with artillerie, soldiers, and forts, whither the galleis could not approach without great danger ; besides hee was aduertised that *Diego de Menezes* was there in fielde with many men. To goe to Almeryn hee considered that he shoulde finde no barkes, being all drawne to the other side ; if hee carried any with him, they were but few, and to builde them there, it was a matter of long delay, and the largenes of the riuver woulde not suffer him to make a bridge : And although possiblie in some places hee might wade through, yet the march was long being aboue threescore myles, that to doe it in so hotte a season, in a drie countrie, without water, with a great armie, and much baggage, was a painfull thing : It might prolong the warre, and loose their reputation by turning backe, besides they doubted resistance vpon the passage in those parts : To goe to Almada and sende the galleies within the riuver, it was a Counsell approoued of the greatest part, and especially of *Lewes Douara*, saying, it was a most assured thing, that from the banke they might batter the enimies armie with their cannon, passing their armie easily, and so become master of the citie without any losse, proouing that neither the rocke of Saint Julian, nor the fort of Cabesa Secca, coulde greatly endamage their galleies. But the Duke preferring the shorthenes of the perill, enclined rather to passe at Cascaies, then at any other place ; and therefore hauing taken aduise of the Portugals, who had fledde out of Portugall into Castil, & were then come with the armie, chiefly of *Anthony de Castro*, Lord of Cascaies, who knew the countrey well, hauing againe viewed the sea-coast, resolued against the opinion of many to passe at Cascaies, and hauing made shewe to march with his armie to Saint Arein to deceiue the enimie, hauing in a manner imbarqued all his foote in the galleies, he tooke that course. And for that *Diego de Menezes* was at Cascaies preparing for the defence, the galleies being within view of the citie, they made shewe to turne their prooes to that place which is called S. Anthonis shoare, the which the Portugals had fortified, fearing the enimie woulde come

*The armie  
passeth at  
Cascaies.*

thither, as a conuenient place for descent: They made this shew to draw Meneses from all other parts to come thither, to make resistance, the whitch succeeded happily for the Duke; for such as were in guard in other places, assembled themselues there: The gallicies hauing a while runne this course, the castell of Cascaies discharging some cannon shot against them, turning their stems to the place which they call the old shoare, which was rough and vnaccessible, finding it vnfurnished, it was easie to disimbarque; although before hee were in some doubt whether he shoulde proceede or returne backe, both for that the winde was growne contrarie, as hauing discouered vpon the hilles some armed men, doubting the successe woulde be but badde, yet he resolued to passe on. It is said, that at that time one of the Dukes eldest captaines, and verie familiar with him, drawing neere vpon colour of sygne other conference, saide vnto him in his eare, that this disimbarkeing, was rather fit for a Generall of ffe and twentie yeeres, then for one of his age, who houlding him by the shoulder answered, that he could not denie it, neither could he omit to do it; notwithstanding his enemies were without experiente; when as the gallicies discharged their artillerie, the place remained without defence, and the armie landed without contradiction.

*The disposi-*  
*tion of the*  
*Dukes ar-*  
*mie.*

The first soldier that went a shoare was a Hargabusier, who hauing chosen a place of least danger, turned his face to the enemie, leauing behinde him sufficient space to fourme a squadron: Two others which followed him were on each side, a little behinde him in equall distance, making a triangle equilaterall, besides these two came three others, and then sixe, and so the number still increasing, they went in ranke, the one greater then the other, stretching foorth themselues behind the point of this triangle, making the boodie still greater without loosing the forme, so as it grewe to as great a proportion as the place coulde conteine, the which were all put into this forme, after whom the Duke disimbarke: Before this shoare was a mountaine of harde accesse, behinde the which lay Diego de Meneses with his troupes, hauing planted vpon the toppe thereof, and betwixt certaine rockes, some small peeces of artillery, to hinder their descent, but they coulde not vse them, for they were not planted in any place to endamage the gallicies, the which being disco-

discouered by the soldiers which landed, some of them disbanding from the triangle with their muskets, sealed vpon the cannon, abandoned by their cannoniers, which were rettire behind the moun-  
taines, where the rest of the Portugals stood : The triangle being fi-  
nished, the Duke thrust foorth the point thereof, and stretched out They charge  
the Portug-  
als, who  
retire.  
the soldiers as well as he could in a square forme to march, hauing  
ascended the mountaine by the easiest way, seeing the enimie ama-  
zed, neither to flie nor to defend them selues, & without any forme  
of lodging : He socht about fower score shotte to entertaine the skir-  
mish, which followed with great disadvantage to the Portugals;  
who being lesse experienced in shooting, and vnfurnished of  
muskets were often and a farre off beaten by the enimie ; when as  
their shot coulde not reach them. So as amazed with the death of  
some of their men, all the rest began to retire, with no small disorder  
towards Cascayes, from whence Meneses saide they shold returne  
to charge the enimie : by reason wherof the Duke remained ma-  
ster of the field with greater facilitie then he expected ; the which  
was a great signe that all the other things shold succeed fauorably,  
seeing in this of so great importance, hee had so happy successe :  
Every man supposed, ( and the Portugals more then all the rest )  
that the Duke shoulde haue founde more trouble in this passage  
then hee had ; for besides the fortifications made in diuers pla-  
ces, they trusted to the discommoditie of the shoare, and in the  
valour of the saide Meneses, who ( hauing beene a captaine at  
the Indies ) had ( but most by his liberalitie ) gotten reputation  
amongst this nation. But forasmuch as the Portugals deceiued them-  
selues most of any nation in iudgement of them selues, the like hap-  
pened in the opinion they had in this their captaine : yet were they  
not deceiued in their iudgement touching the vnearie descent, for  
so it was ; but these discommodities are easily surmounted, where  
there is no resistance. Many Portugals hauing scene this vnhappy  
successe, accused the captaine of cowardise, who durft not attende The blames  
of Meneses,  
and his ex-  
cuses.  
the enimie vpon the banke to defende him from the shoare, or to  
ascend the hill ; some ( seeming vnto them impossible that a man of  
that account shoulde haue so small valour ) charged him with dis-  
loyaltie, saying that he would not fight, hauing beene corrupted by  
the Catholique Kings ministers. Hee excused himselfe weakely,

saying, that the soldiers he had, being gathered togither of all sorts, and fearefull, woulde not fight, but doubting against reason of his fidelitie did mutine against him, and would not obey.

*A confus-  
ion in the  
cittie of Liss-  
bone.*

These things did greatly amaze both the Prior and the whole citie of Lisbone, for Cascayes being but fifteene miles from the citie vnwalled, and weake, they feared the Duke being master of that place, that the enimies might make their courses daily euena vnto the pallece gates. And this feare, which often worketh the like effects in cowardes by dispaire, that inconsideratenes doth in rash heads being mingled with choler, did so trouble *Anthony*, that hauing rung the bels, and giuen the allarum, with great disorder and confusion, he assembled the whole people within the pallece yarde, some on horsebacke, some on foote, some armed, some vnarmed, saying, he would go to field against the enimie. But at the same time there arriued at court two religious men, who saying they came from those parts, confirmed the enimies dissent, and withall affirmed that they had bin in skirmish, and that the Castillians had the woort, hauing lost many of their men, and some of their principall captaines: The which being beleueed, turned their sorrow and ringing of bels, into feasts, and sounding of trumpets, and shooting of artillerie, the which they discharged for ioy: yet soone after they vnderstoode the truth; but for that it was late, they deferred the departure of *Anthony* with his men vnto the next day morning. In the meane time all things were so troubled, and so full of libertie, that a false bruite being spred abroad, how that *George de Mene/nes* (who was prisoner within the castell) practised to escape, all the people armed, yea the women ranne thither, whom if a Judge had not defended, although they found him there, and not attempting any thing, they had murdered. The day following, returning to assemble the people in furie, hauing still newes of the enimie, without consideration whither they marched, or what they had to do, *Anthony* departed with these men towardes Cascayes, but hauing marched three miles, being arriued at Belem, his choler somewhat qualifed, returning backe to viewe such as followed him, hee founde his number lesse, and in worse order then hee expected; for who so had a pike had no sworde, and hee that had a Harquebuse, had no match, and altogether were not aboue a thousande foote, and fiue hundredth

*Anthony  
goes towards  
Cascayes.*

hundred horse, after the Genette manner: For although they had assembled a great number within Lisbone, yet many vpon their departure were retired to their houses: Standing a while in this estate, with the Count of Vimioso, he called all the nobilitie he had about him to councell, demanding of them what they shoulde do: Sodainly there grewe a mutinie amongst this people, who cried out that they shoulde march on, vowed to kill any that shoulde speake of their retraite, before they had gotten the victorie, and chased away the Castillians: For this cause some lesse blinded, who perhaps woulde haue shewed the Prior his weakenes, and aduised him to retire, durst not speake: But the sunne setting, necessitie made his troupes feele some part of those inconueniences, whereof they were yet ignorant, for desiring to eate, there was not any bread to be found; so as the vaine presumption of this people being vanquished by hunger, in a few howres, they all returned backe full of confusion.

The Duke being lodged this night neere vnto our ladies church of Guida, the day following hee went to Cascaves, which place being vnprouided of defence, was spoiled by the soldiers, against the promise which the Duke had made to *Anthony de Castro*; yet the inhabitants had in a manner abandoned it: There did he passe his horse in galleies from Settuall, with the rest of the armie, artillerie, munition, & baggage, incamping round about the castell of the <sup>The castell taken.</sup> *Diego de Meneches* had retired himselfe, vnkownen to the Duke: And although this seemed no fortresse of defence, yet the Duke hauing sent a trumpet thither to will them to yeelde, these miserable wretches trusted so much in themselues, that breaking the law of nations, they shot at the trumpet, and prepared for their defence, saying, that they were all resolued to die. Sodainly the artillery was planted, and for that the wals were weak, hauing with fewe shot made a great breach, they found their owne faulte too late, resoluing to yeeld: And although they made certain signes from the wals, yet those without woulde not vnderstande them, so as lifting vp a white cloth in signe of peace, he which helde it, being discouered vpon the wals, the soldiers that were in guard, made many shotte at him, and slew him, which gave small hope of helpe to the assieg'd: Yet making another signe, and seeing the bat-

terie ceased not, the which had now made a great breach, dispairing of pardō, viewing the ruined wals, without any other embassage or composition, they opened the gates, where the soldiers entred without any resistance: There they founde *Diego de Menfes*, who with a Portugals confidence, supposing he had not greatly offended, sent to tell *Anthony de Castro* who was with the Duke that he was there, that as one gentleman ought to do for an other, he shoulde obtaine his pardon, and take him into his charge, procuring him a barkē to go vnto the Prior. But the Duke had him no sooner prisoner, but hee cut off his head, and caused *Henry Pereira* captaine of the fortreſſe, with some other of the principals to be hanged, to terrifie by this first execution the captaines of other forts, that shoulde be obſtinate in resisting. The furie and confusiou which the newes of these euents caused in the citie, was incredible; so as, if by chaunce the Peasants tooke any of the enemis prisoner (as it often happens, with ſuch as for desire of pillage ſtraggle from the campe) hee was moft miſerable: for whilſt they ledde him bound, ſuch as were armed with their armes, religious men with their ſtaucs, women and children with ſtones, did ſo pitifully handle him, as happy was hee that coulde ſtrike him, and their licentious libertie was ſo great, as it was lawfull for any one (though moft baſe) and for every ſlaue to wrong any stranger whatſoever, to impriſon him, and ſende him to the galleies; for charging him to be an enemie, the whole people at the leaſt motion would riſe and execute what they pleaſed, were it right or wrong.

*Anthony* ſeeing nowe all hope of defence vpon the paſſage of the riuier loſt, and a mighty enemie ſo neere him, ſought ſome remedie for his affaires. All condiſions preſented vnto him, were moft hard: For to iſſue foorth and fight he iudged it a folly, finding his deficit of men to vanquish; muſt leſſe to bring the batteile in queſtion: To defend the citie it was imposſible, for the greatness thereof being without wals and weake: His flight by ſea was ſtopped by the galleies, he woule not hazard to eſcape by lande, being vnable to carry with him many iewels, and ſome money which he had gaſtered together; and to componude with the Duke was brother vnto death: So as wauering in theſe thoughts, the magistrate of the chamber of Lisbone went vnto him, ſaying, That ſeeing the enemy was

*Diego de  
Menfes  
beheaded, &  
Henry Pe-  
reira han-  
ged.*

was so neere and so mightie, they would not bring the safetie of the citie in question, nor so gourne them selues, that being weake it shoulde be a praie to the soldiers: that therefore hee shoulde prepare to issue foorth and defend it, the which if he did not, the citie coulde do no lesse then prouide for her owne safetie. He answered, that the time was nowe come when as they shoulde aide him with men, entertained at their owne charge, which doing, he hoped with many others which hee had assembled, God woulde giue him the victorie: but the magistrate excused they coulde not do it, for the great charge they had beeene at by reason of the plague; whereunto he replied, that within two daies howsoeuer, he woulde frame his campe, and march against the Duke: For this cause, hauing let passe the fourth day of August, most vnhappy to the Portugals, for the losse of the battaile in Affrick, and hauing left some of his most precious things in certaine religious houses, he commaunded that all soldiers which had beeene long before inrolled, and all the people of Lisbone without exception of person whatsoeuer, should march towards Belem; the which was executed with great rigour, forcing many to go in person: For although the hatred against the Castillians were in generall, yet the tailor, the shoemaker, the handicrafts men, and the peasants, who bragged, that they alone woulde conquer the whole world, did not willingly leaue their houses, but fainting daily, they chose rather to encounter with wordes then bullets, besides, being accustomed to an other trade, and vnfitt for warre, they had not beeene trained to shooote in a Harquebuse, vnapnt to carrie, much lesse to mannage a pike: So as of this forced and tumultuarie people they had assembled eight or ten thousand at Belem, whither in the ende *Anthony* went, who still doubtfull, and ill aduised, without any resolution, expecting what time woulde counsaile him. The resolution whereon he most depended was, that if the Duke came against the citie, to meeete him vpon the waie, with some aduantage if he coulde, and giue him battaile, propounding like a desperate man, either to vanquish or to die: yet soone after, when the occasio was presented, he could neither effect the one nor the other. His troupes lay not encamped, but were dispersed heere and there, within the houses of that small place, vnder the porches of the monasterie, and other such like, without either forme or strength

*Anthony*  
*marcheth*  
*towards Be-*  
*lem with bis*  
*men consu-*  
*medly.*

*Religious  
men deuided  
into factions.*

strength of a lodging. He had no captaigne of experiance, no marshall of the fielde, nor sergeant that coulde commaund the soldiers, lodge them, and put them in battaile if neede were. Sforze Orsin a yoong man, and valiant, but of no great experiance, was come out of Italy, at the brute of these warres, yet being a stranger and alone, he was not obeied, neither did they greatly trust him: The priuate capitaines of companies had no experiance, and there was so great want of men, that some friers were made capitaines of the Moores, and of the scum of the people, carrying in one hande their crosses, and in the other their armes. It is not to be forgotten (as a thing not accustomed) the mutinies growen in religious houses, where being deuided into factions, fewe were affected to the Castillians, few remained newters, and infinite were those that affected the rule of *Anthony*, for the fauouring of whose cause, they committed manie disorders: The priests were no more temperate then the rest, many whereof hauing left their priestly habite, were gone to field arm'd: In this confusion *Anthony* remained three daies at Belem, whilst the Duke approched slowly: The fourth day, hee considered that although there came still vnto him some soldiers which had beeene leuied in all the cities of the realme, yet the armie diminished dailly, for that the inhabitants of the citie left him, who hauing their houses neere, not accustomed to the discommodities of warre, fled from him, therefore he sent to Lisbone, commaunding vpon great punishments to bring vnto him by force, al such as shoulde be found armed, or vnarmed, defending that no man shoulde retire to anie other place, but where he was, desiring that as well the cowardes as the valiant, shoulde runne the like fortune with him; supposing (as king *Sebastian* had done to his losse) it were possible to force men to fight that were both vnskilfull and vnwilling: And forasmuch as his onely hope consisted in the peoples fauour, to the ende they shoulde follow him more willingly, he graunted vnto all (but especially to those of his traine, free libertie, the which carrying with it confusion, was cause of great harme; for as the whole citie was filled with Negroes and Peasants, the quieter sorte had more feare of the people the of the enemy, yet was there not seene any one to powre foorth his hate, or commit any priuate reuenge, of small or great importance, not for that there are not many dissensions and facti-

ons

ons amongst them, but being more apt to reuenge themselues by the toong then by sworde : All rigour to force men to the field preuailed little, for feare encreasing with this diligence, they hidde themselues the more, the which *Anthony* perceiving, finding himselfe in no assurance at Belem, hauing the enimies campe so neere, and a conquerour, he was aduised to passe on, and to lodge about the wals of the rocke of Saint Julian, supposing that two good effects woulde grow thereby, the one, that his armie should be more safe vnder the fauour of the cannon, and of the tower, the other that he should assure this forte, being the only defence of the whole realme. But this advise being disallowed of the greatest part, hee retired himselfe by the counsell of *Sforza Orsin* to Alcantara, a mile neerer the citie, putting a riuier betwixt him and the enimie, the which hauing the banks high on that part, serued him as a fortresse. And although this retrait was rather caused, by the inconsideratenes, wherewith he went to Belem, then by any newe feare of the enimie, yet was it iudicious, the place being strong by nature, and fitte for *Anthony*es intent, who desired not to retire farre from the citie, to keepe it in obedience.

*Anthony*  
retires to  
Alcantara.

The Catholique King who remained still at Badagios, vnderstanding the Dukes proceedings, being on the one side glad, and on the other side troubled to see this people attende the scourge of warre, besides that he did incense them against him, whom he desired much to entertaine as friendes, for this cause hee sought all meanes possible, as he had euer done, to winne them with the least shewe of hostilitie; and therefore he thought it good to graunt a generall pardon to all portugals, that had beeene imploied in this action against him, seeking by clemencie to make his enimies friendes, the which he published, being thus in effect : That being informed that in the rebellion that *Anthony* had raised, vsurping tirannouslie the name of a king of Portugall, many of them which had followed his faction, had done it, being oppressed, forced, and deceiued, and that seeking to prouide that such shoulde not be punished with offendours, and that the people more easie to be abused then the rest, shoulde not bee chasticed with that rigour which lawe doth inflict ; his pleasure was, That al such (as leauing the part of the said *Anthony* and embracing his, as of their King, and naturall Lorde,) shoulde come

*The Catho-  
lique Kings  
pardon to  
the Portugu-  
gals.*

» come vnto his seruice within a certaine time prefixed, to that effect  
 » by the Duke of Alua, shoulde bee freely pardoned all their faultes,  
 » whereinto they had runne by taking and following the voice of  
 » the saide *Anthony*: He excepted notwithstanding the Prior and all  
 » the seductors, and authors of the r̄bellions, committed at Saint  
 » Arem, Lisbone, and Settuual, and all such as had receiuied from him  
 » any charges, offices, and recompences as King, and such as did serue  
 » him actually, all which, shoulde not enjoy the saide pardon. And  
 » although this latter point was not approoued of all men, yet the  
 rest seemed to be done with great iudgement; for thereby they did  
 not onely discouer the kings good meāing, but also his great wise-  
 dome, vsing clemencie to pardon, and martiall policie to procure  
 the Portugals to abandon the Prior: But this writing (although  
 there were many copies dispersed, thorough the realme) wrought  
 small profite to *Philip*, and little hurt to *Anthony*; for neither did any  
 greater number follow the Catholique Kings partie then before,  
 neither did any man for feare abandon *Anthony*; his favorites only  
 were a little greeued, who examining the forme thereof, seemed to  
 be excluded, as those that had receiuied offices, honors, and recom-  
 pences: so as they did see their offences, become daily more capi-  
 tall, togither with the example they had seene by the death of *Diego*  
*de Meneses*. Many noted in this pardon, that besides it was written  
in the Portugall tong, it beganne with the name of King onely,  
with the ordinarie titles of kings of Portugall, and being accusto-  
med to signe with these words *I O E L R E Y*, now he only subscribed  
*R E Y* :::: pointed with fife points, called by the Portugals the fife  
wounds, after the same manner the kings of Portugall had vsed: so  
as some said, that in matters of small importance, he began to shewe  
himselfe a Portugall.

*The Duke  
marcheth  
against the  
rocke of  
Saint Julian.*

The Duke of Alua marched easilie towards Oeiras, to the rocke  
of Saine Iulian, seeming so to doe exprefly, that the Portugals  
might haue leisure to resolute: being incamped so farre from the  
fortresse as their cannon coulde not annoy them, he presently sent  
a trumpet to deauand obedience: But being the very same whom  
he had formerly sent to the castell of Cascayes, at whom they had  
shot, he durst not approoch neare to the forte, fearing they woulde  
doe the like, so as onely hauing made a signe a farre off, without  
attending

attending any answere, he returned, saying that they woulde not yeelde: For this cause hauing planted their artillerie on Saint Lawrence day, they began their batterie with tenne cannons, encreasing the number vnto tower and twentie: The galleies coulde not approach, for that the forte stooode vpon the sea, and therefore the Portugall gallions drawing neere to the lande, did greatly indomage the Castillians with their culuerings and other great artillery, but hauing planted threc cannons in the night, they forced the gallions with a fewe volleies, to retire themselues higher vnto Saint Katernes shoare.

Anthony was now at Alcantara vpon a hill, being but ffe miles distant from the fortresse, where he remained an vnprofitable boulder of this battery, wheron it seemed his whole fortune depended; for that the whole realme of Portugall had no other forte but this, that coulde make any resistance; so as loosing it, his greatest hope was vanished: but for that he might well succour it by sea, both with men and munition as he did, he hoped well it shoulde not be forced; or at the least holde out, vntill that either winter shoulde draw on, or some prince (taking pittie of his miserie) shoulde relieue his estate, before the winning thereof; without the which he did see himselfe helpelesse, and the rather for that he had intelligence that the citie of Lisbone (being grieved with the great infidelities committed daily by the soldiers disbanded from the enemies campe thereabouts,) were resolued not to give him entrance within the citie, vntesse he returned with victory, or had compouned with the enimie, fearing otherwise the Duke woulde be displeased, and being weake, giue it in spoile vnto the soldiers. Some were of opinion that the Prior in whom desire of rule was of more force then religion, or other respect whatsoeuer, shoule (finding al hopes lost) procure that this citie (which is in a manner the whole realme) shoulde remaine as a praie to the auarice and voluptuousnes of the Castillians, desiring that the Portugals being forced to yeelde, the realme shoulde be so entreated by the Catholique Kings men, as there might remaine no hope of peace or amitie; to the end, that if heereafter he shoulde pretende the recouerie of the realme, the people (in regard of the hatred that such losses engender, togither with their naturall inclination) shoulde remaine still enimie, and be

more

more willing to yeeld to his deuotion: For this cause he sought dailie with all his force to reforme the magistrate of the chamber, and to place men, in whom he had great affiance, as well to haue entrie into the citie if need were, as also to dispose of things at his pleasure: But forasmuch as the greatest part of those magistrates were mechanike men, in whom a seare hath a more interest, then the respect of a King, he did not greatly trust them: When he was proclaimed king, there followed him a gentleman of Castill, who serued him as the first vallet of his chamber, seeing the warres to grow betwixt the Portugals and Castillians, hee craued, and obtained leauue to retire himselfe into his countrey. This man going to King Philip, made offer (for the great familiaritie hee had with Anthony) to treat an accord with him, being in great hope to effect it; so as hee was sent to the Duke of Alua, with order that he shoulde suffer him to goe and conferre with the Prior: For the effecting heereof hee came to Lisbone, at such time as the Duke tooke Cascayes, and hauing discoursed at large with the Prior, he enformed him of the Kings forces, and aduised him to compound: The Prior gaue care to this treatie, and *Diego de Carcamo*, (for so this gentleman was called) did greatly presse him to giue him a letter of credite vnto the king, with commission what he had in charge. That such as had beeene their mediators, were the cause that he had not serued him as he desired, but as much as the time woulde suffer him, he was ready to do it: That if it pleased him to sende any person as Embassador to the three Estates, that hee woulde perswade them to yeelde him obedience, and that he woulde say he had defended them so much as possible hee coulde, but his succours from Fraunce and other Prouinces failing, he could no longer resist, and therefore he aduised them to agree. In this letter which he had written to the King, he did signe *Rey*. But repenting him afterwarde, he did write it againe, at the perswasion of *Carcamo*, and subscribed it *Anthony*: having receiuied the letter & his charge, he seemed to haue ended his busines; but being with the King, he was returned backe to *Anthony*, with a resolutiō which he supposed should haue succeeded; but with certaine letters to the Duke of Alua, whereby he was commanded to gouerne himselfe as the estate of the affaires shoulde require. Hee arriued at such time as the Duke was encamped before the rocke

*A treatie of  
agreement  
with An-  
thony.*

*Anthony his  
letter to the  
King.*

rocke of Saint Julian. Now did there lighten foorth a great hope of peace, the which soone after vanished away : For although the Duke seemed to be well pleased with this practise, yet may we well say, it did not content him, seeming happily vnto him, that being so farre aduanced, hee shoulde haue more honour to conquer it by armes, then by agreement. For which cause he returned *Carcamo* to the Prior with this aunswere : That he was glad of his resolution to serue his maestie, but there was no reason to sende an Embas- <sup>The answere  
of the Duke  
to Anthony.</sup> fador to the States, seeing hee helde not the crowne from them but from the people, to whom if hee pleased hee woulde sende, and grant the like graces vnto them, which other cities had receiuied by their yeelding. These words were deliuered him in writing, but by mouth the Duke added, that he had beene an affectionate seruant to *Lewes* his father, and that as he had now taken armes to deprive him of the realne; so woulde he take them in hande againe to conquer him an other, so as it were not any of those that belonged to his King and Lord. *Carcamo* was not yet without hope to conclude the busines, but nowe the Spanish grauitie hindred the effect of so great importance : For the Duke supposed he shoulde not giue vnto *Anthony* any greater title then Seignory, and hee that was mounted from Excellencie to Highnes, held himselfe contemned, and so much disdained it, that both for the cold answere, & for this respect, he was assured the Duke would haue no agreement : He therefore made answer by mouth, that seeing he woulde not agree, if his people would obey him, and be conformable to his will, they would either vanquish or all die in that place. Vpon this answere, the Duke (repenting his manner of writing, or it may bee, fearing the King woulde not like of this kind of proceeding,) sent backe *Carcamo* to say vnto *Anthony*, that he shoulde send one by sea, or by land, and he woulde sende another, and that in the midde way they should conclude all thinges : But the Prior who had small confidence in the Duke, being greatly moued, made no other replie ; but that Kings were Kings, and captaines, captaines; but that victories came from the hands of God: so as the Duke dispairing of the matter, devised for his discharge, that *Anthony* had sent him worde, that he desired to conferre with him by night in a barke; and the better to induce men to beleue it, he went publikely to lie aboord in a galley, and being

dismbarke in the morning, he seemed discontented that *Anthony* had not come to conference with him, it may be (with this apparant iustification) to haue more cause to make warre, and not to compounde, and so to lay the faulfe vpon *Anthony*, but in truth they did neuer treat of any meeting.

*The rocke of Saint Iulian* Now had they battered the forte of S. Iulian, touching the which there was before growen some difficultie amongst the Inginers, vpon *the advise of* on what part they shoulde make their batterie: Some woulde haue *the Inginers* him plant their cannon at the strongest place, but most conuenient to giue an assault: Others would batter the weakest part, although most vncasie to enter; for that their defences being taken away, their place of armes shoulde remaine open to their artillerie; wherevpon the Duke to quiet this controuerstie, went himselfe; allowing the opinion of *Fratino*, and of *Philip Terzi*, where it hapned that haung battered neere two whole daies, and made but a small breach, the soldiers fainting, (although they had good meane to entrench themselues) their armie neere at hand, and the hauen alwaies open, *Tristan Vaz de Vega*, captaine thereof, was in doubte, whether hee shoulde yeelde, or defende it so long as hee coulde; but enclining more to yeelde, then to fight, he was in suspence, what meanes to vse to trete secretly, not trusting greatly to sonie that were about him.

*A poore woman cause of the yeelding of Saint Iulian.* But fortune made the way for him, for at that time a poore woman neere to Oeiras, hauing her daughter and sonne in lawe within the forte, amazed with the noise of the artillerie, came crying to the Duke, beseeching him to giue her leaue, to drawe her sonne in lawe and her daughter out of the forte which he battred: The old Duke who sought such occasions, embrased this, and saide vnto the woman that she should go in safetie, causing the cannon to cease in the meane time. He willed her to say vnto the captaine of the forte, that he had done ill to make so small account of the Dukes message, and that he shoulde not wilfully cast himselfe away; she deliuered her ambassage, & being returned with her daughter to the campe, she said vnto the Duke on the behalfe of *Tristan Vaz*, that he defended himselfe, hauing not as yet seene any messenger from him, whom he woulde haue heard and entertained, and that if he woulde assure him vpon his word, he woulde go to the campe to speake with him. The Duke sent this woman presently backe to the captaine, saying vnto

vnto him, that he might not onely come in safety, but if he woulde, he woulde sende him hostages: But relying vpon the Dukes promises, hee went vnto him, and was curteously enterained: The captaine excused himselfe for not admitting of the trumpet; saying, there had not beeene any one with him, nor spoke with any one that was within that place, the which if he had done, he woulde haue made answere with that curtesie which was conuenient, by reason whereof, the trumpet was in danger of hanging. The Duke exhorted *Tristan Vaz* with many reasons to resigne the forte, as appertaining to his king, shewing vnto him the danger wherein hee was: *The rocke of Sainz Julian yeelded.* The matter being a little debated betwixt them, the captaine saide vnto him, that if he woulde promise in the name of the Catholique king to performe such recompences as *Anthony* had graunted him, he woulde yeelde it vp; which the Duke freely offring, they were agreed. So as being returned, leading with him some Spanish capitaines & soldiers, he resigned the fortresse, where the assiged were so decaied, as they seemed to issue foorth of a deadly prison: And although some did esteeme the captaine for this action to be treacherous, and others a cowarde, yet (as he saide) the rocke with such vnexpert soldiers, was not defensible: besides, the Gouernors had declared *Philip* successour. A little before the yeelding of S. Iulian, the Duke had sent to *Peter Barba*, captain of Cabessa Secca, willing him to yeelde the forte, the which he hauing refused, when as he vnderstood the fortresse was yeelded, and that the Duke brought in his galleies he woulde no longer attende, but hauing abandoned the place with the consent of the Prior, and saued certaine artillerie, he fledde to the campe at Alcantara. *Cabessa Secca abandoned.*

By these losses feare encreased in the citie, chiefly amongst the principals, who fearing to be spoiled, were daily more disposed to yeelde to the Catholique King; besides they did see small helpe in the Priors affaires, and they hoped by their yeelding to obtaine some priuilege from his Maiestie, and had before this made offer of themselues; if the respect of the Prior (who was in field and so neere) had not deteined them: At this time they had intelligence of the arriuall of fower ships at the Ilande of Terceraes, which came from the Indies, very rich, and of great importance for the citie, the losse whereof, if the galleies shoulde seaze on them, woulde cause *The feare of them as Lif-bone.*

great hinderance, both in the particular, and generall, and therefore the greatest part wished that one of the armes woulde yelde to the other, before the shps shoulde arriue: For this cause the citie sent againe vnto *Anthony*, to shewe vnto him the danger, and as it were the siege wherein they were, hauing the entrie of the sea shut vp, that the Duke hauing so great numbers of men, and he so fewe, he ought not ( though he might) to hazard the fortune of a fieldc with so great disaduantage. They did secretly aduise him to compound, seing the best way to ende these troubles, and then the shps might safely enter: Moreouer they did suppose, that if in fighting the Duke should remayne victor so neare the citie, they should hardly saue it from the spoile of the soldiers: Notwithstanding *Anthony* for his small experience being irresolute, disdaining the Dukes speeches, and ill aduised by his friends, these reasons could not draw him to resolute; but the next day he sent to the magistrate the Count of Vimioso, the Bishop of Guarda, and *Emanuel* of Portugall, to intreate the citie to defend it selfe, and to send him more men to the campe, encouraging them, sometimes deuising that the French succours were on the way, sometimes shewing the Priors forces to bee greater then they were, and the enimies lesse. But as the words of the magistrate did nothing moue the Prior, no more did the speeches of the Prior alter the inward minde of the Magistrate, so as all remained in suspence, euery man with his owne intentions: True it is, that as well the saide Prior as some of the magistrates, had easily agreed with the Duke vpon certaine conditions: But the Priors will was forced by those of the house of Portugall, and especially by the Bishop, and the Citizens, by many new officers, who had their places in perpetuitie; the which were woont to bee graunted but for a time: These men arrogating to themselues more authoritie then was giuen them, woulde not suffer the execution of any thing, but what pleased themselues: But for all this *Anthony* was not without feare that the citie woulde rebell against him to his vtter ruine, trusting in fewe, he coulde finde no better remedie, then to place continually at the gates of the citie, and in the armie at sea, a number of religious men of diuers orders, to guarde the entrie with the soldiers, and to keepe the keies, trusting deseruedly more in them, then in the captaines that were there imploied: For in the assemblies and counsels

counsels of State that were often held, there appeered more hatred against the Castillians, and more will to fight in the religious men then in the secular.

The Duke was now returned to the same lodging of Oeiras, a place both by nature and arte strong: For besides the great number of artillerie and rampiers, the countrey was rough & stony, whereas the horsemen could hardly fight, in whose force the Portugals relied much: He made no shewe to dislodge, for supposing now (as in effect it was) that from thence he helde all the realme assieg'd, and principally with his galleies, hee supposed that both the Prior and the citie, would soone yelde vnto him: Besides that, to march on, " considering his craftie nature and slowe disposition, and the Portugals armie being so neare, he thought it not conuenient; he laboured with all possible deuises to be cōquerour without fighting; " and had now almost corrupted the captaines of the galleies, and of the tower of Belem, who shoulde soone haue deliuered vnto him both tower and armie; the which had been effected, if *Anthony* himselfe had not gone in person, who hauing dispossessed in a manner all the captaines of their charges, and placed others, without giuing them respite to execute their practises; but he was nowe growen so iealous of euery man, finding in all men so great feare, and so little " faith, that hee knewe not whom to trust, if he were not a religious man, a marriner, or of the baser sort. And for that it seemes alwaies to such as feare that they are betraied, it hapned that fire being kindled by chaunce in certaine straw which lay about the castell wals of the citie, where his roiall tapestrie lay, he grewe suspiciois that this fire had beene some signe vnto the enimies, and that the merchant strangers whom he had placed there in guard, had made it, for that they woulde not goe to fielde to fight, and this feare was so violent, that without examining the fact, without considering they were Flemmings, whose nation for the most part were the most obstinate enimies, that euer the Catholique King had, thrust forwarde by his owne feare, and that of *Emanuel Soares* one of the newe Veriadors of the chamber, hee displaced the strangers from thence, and being not yet well assured, hee commaunded that all strangers shoulde depart the citie, and soone after he decreed, (although it were not executed) that they shoulde be spoiled. These

two armes remained eight daies in this estate, neere one to the other, without mouing, and little skirmishing; at the end whereof, the Duke sent foorth Sanches d'Auila, with a hundredth and fiftie horse, and some fewe foote, to discouer the countrey, and plot the meanes to batter the tower of Belem, they were encountered by three hundredth horse, and fiftie hundredth Portugale foote, who without order ranne towards them: But for that the Castillians pretended nothing but to discouer, being but weakely charged by the Portugals, hauing skirmished a while, with the losse of fewe men they returned to their lodging, and the day following, they issued foorth with a greater number, and hauing entred skirmish of the one side, the Castillians of the other hauing planted three peeces of artillerie, which the night before they had drawen neere vnto the tower, they forced ( after some fewe cannonadoes ) first the armie of gallicies to retire to Lisbone, and then the tower to yeelde, by *The yeelding  
of the tower  
of Belem.* meanes whereof, the kings armie at sea, might safely enter into the port of Belem, as presently they did.

## THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

*The Contents of the seventh Booke.*

*The route at Alcantara: The taking of Lisbone: The  
sacke of the subburbes: The praise and dispraise of  
the Duke of Alua: The sicknesse of the Catholique  
King: The voyage of Sanches d'Auila into the  
Prouince which lieth betwixt Doro and Migno:  
The winning of the cities of Auero and Porto:  
The flight of Anthony: The taking of Viana:  
The death of Queene Anne: The Kings progresse  
to Eluas: The resolution of the inhabitants of the  
Terceraes: The Popes offer to send an armie against  
England.*

**B**etwixt the two armes there was no other let  
then the rockes of the brooke of Alcantara: The  
Duke finding that *Anthony* supposing himselfe  
in safetie, would not come to the field, resolued;  
for that he woulde not force him in so defensi-  
ble a lodging, to seeke some other meanes to  
defeate him quite, or at the least to make him dislodge, and free the  
citie from such a curbe; the which he vnderstoode came not to his  
obedience, for that this armie was so neere them. But hauing not yet  
viewed the enimie, nor his lodging, but from farre, trusting little to  
the report of others, woulde first himselfe see the seate, and howe  
they were lodged, before he woulde attempt any matter of impor-  
tance, and therefore on Saint Bartholomewes day he issued foorth  
of his lodging with his whole army, onely with an intent to discouer:  
The left banks of Tagus, whereupon these armes were encamped,  
is hilly, but yet easie, and is deuided by the brooke of Alcantara, as  
it were into straight lines; the which takes his name of a small vil-  
lage seated vpon the right angle, where it dischargeth it selfe into  
the riuier: There vpon the brooke is a bridge of stone; the bankes  
of both sides, beginning from the mouth of the riuier, running a  
mile vpward, are very high and vneasie, yet vpwarde there lieth a  
champion ground, although somewhat vneuen, yet very commo-  
dious for lodging; vpon the left banke was the Portugals campe,  
in a manner vpon the triangle, where the rocke is highest fortified  
toward the enimie with ill fashioned trenches, and much artillerie:  
The Duke marched to the right banke, with his whole armie, right  
against the Portugals; where hauing made a long stande, consider-  
ing well the seate to be naturally strong, but little helpes by arte, he  
see the enimies ( perciuing his approch ) to put themselues into  
squadrons, within their rampiers, standing still, without any shew of  
issuing foorth, labouring onely to endamage them with their can-  
nons: So as hauing wel resolued what to do, after some skirmish, he  
returned for this night vnto the place from whence he came, and  
for the day following gaue this order, that after midnight they  
should giue a hot allarum on al sides, to keepe the enimie on foote,  
to wearie him, and to cause him to put his men in order, as hee had  
done

done the day before : He enioyned *Frauncis d' Alua*, Generall of the artillerie, that before day he shoulde plant vpon the hils, which discouer the enimies lodging, and their trenches, some great artillerie, with sufficient munition, to batter the Portugals rankes, to scour their defences, and the place where they shoulde stande to defende the bridge, when it should be assaulted : He commaunded to thrust into the army at sea a thousand Harquebusiers, ffeue hundred Italiens, and ffeue hundred Spaniards, with order to the Marquesse of Saint Croix, to charge the enimies when a certaine signe shoulde be giuen vnto them : He called all the chiefe Commaundours of the campe, and saide vnto them, that he hoped to drive the enimie that day by force from his lodging, that he desired them to be obedient, „ to obserue the directions which he had giuen, and shoulde giue, for „ as by that and their valour, the enterprise was easie; so without order „ and obedience it was most difficult : That one of the chiefe points „ his Maiestie had commaunded, was to sau the citie of Lisbone, the „ which the king had in so great regard, that he had rather leauue to „ vanquish, then by vanquishing to spoile it : And therefore hee did „ presse them to promise, that if they were so happy as wholie to „ breake the enimie, they shoulde not onely forbearre to spoile it, but „ defend it from such as would attempt it; assuring them that the king „ would be more pleased with the defence thereof, then with the vic- „ torie it selfe : He added moreouer, and that with great vehemencie; „ that if his ill happe were such, as that they shoulde not satisfie him in „ this, he beseeched God, that the first shoote the enimie shoulde „ make, shoulde rather depryue him of life, then to see a thing so much „ against the seruice and will of his Maiestie. These words being en- ded, and al things executed, the Duke a little before day (leauing in his lodging a reasonable guard of all nations) marched against the Portugals in this order, notwithstanding some of the chiefe were of opinion, they shoulde first trie this armie with courses and light charges, being a generall opinion by the aduertisements they had

*The order of the Dukes armis.* received, that fewe men woulde put them to flight. The Duke deuided his armie into three bodies, two of foote, and one of horse, the which marched not one after an other, but as it were in front, as the hilly countrey woulde giue them leauue : In the middle was the Duke with the greatest part of the Spanish foote, & some Germaine pikes, deuided

deuided into fowre squadrons, which marched not all in fronde, nor one after an other, but scattered as the place would suffer them, being in al about sixe thousand: On the right side were all the Italians, the rest of the Germanes, & some few Spaniards, ordered in three squadrons, one, a side of an other, by *Prossper Colona*, which shoulde amount to the like number: On the left hand, which was the thirde body, were their horsemen, cōmanded by *Farrant* son to the Duke, in the first ranke whereof marched their Harquebusiers on horsebacke, in the second their gennetters, in the thirde their light horsemen, & behinde, their men at armes, where *Farrant* himselfe remained; vpon the riuer which lay on the right hand (the which in that place is about three miles broad) was the Marquesse with three-score and two galleies, and fiuе and twentie ships, the which lying but musket shor from their foote, serued as a wing to the armie on that side, to answer the horse which were on the other.

In the meane while *Anthony* hauing viewed the enimies the day before, and how little they had effected, beleueued (notwithstanding the great allarum which he heard in the night) it woulde fall out as *Anthony his preparation against the Duke*. the day before; and that after some light skirmishes, the enimie (he not issuing foorth of his lodging) shoulde retire the second time; yet desirous to put his men in order as the day before, he coulde not doe it, for being vnaccustomed to suffer, wearie with the trauaile of the day, and disquietnes of the night, they did not execute that which was commaunded; besides their number was greatly diminished; for many being accustomed to lie in the towne all night, and returne in the day, were not yet come, and others amazed, were quite fledde away: And therefore he commaunded the Bishop of Guarda, who plaied at Lisbone (as a man may say) the part of a king, to sende with all diligence to the campe all such men as were within the citie, who with drums and bels ceased not all night to sound, and with serjeants armed, to driue the citizens and handy crafts men by force out of their beds, compelling them to go foorth armed, with some few whereof, the saide Bishop went to the campe that night. But heereof followed no good effect, for such as were sent foorth against their wils being fearefull, fled to other places, so as the Portugall armie neither encreased in number nor in order.

The

The Duke in the meane time presented himselfe on the right banke, opposite to the Priors armie, vpon the hils where hee had planted his cannon; where viewing the Portugals scattered in their lodging, hee founde himselfe deceiued in his conceaued opinion, that vpon the allarum giuen they shoulde ranke themselues into squadrons: Hee now perceiued that this intent to batter their rankes with his artillerie could not succeed, as hee had presupposed, and disordering them to charge them on all sides, supposing in this manner he shoulde easily breake them: But having changed his resolution, according to the occurrents, being willing to hazard a battaile, he did endamage them all he coulde with his cannon, and so did the Prior likewise on his part: He commaunded *Prosper Colona* to attempt the bridge with his men, that were in the squadrons on the right hand, striuing to passe it, and to winne as much ground as he coulde: He gaue order to *Sanches d'Auila* with two thousande Harquebusiers, which he had drawne out of his middle Battalion, hauing passed the brooke aboue whereas the bankes are lowest, and easiest to ascend to draw the enemie to combate, with all the aduantage he could: charging them in flanke euен vnto their trenches: He gaue commission to *Ferrant* his sonne, who taking a greater compasse, shoulde passe the brooke, whereas the bankes were not high, vnto the other side with his horse, and go against the enemie, but if he shoulde not issue foorth of his lodging, as it was supposed, they shoulde then assaile them on all parts at one instant, hee remaining behinde with the rest of the foote, to succour where need should require, in a place more eminent then the rest, from the which he might discouer both armies, where hauing left his squadrons a little behinde him, he sate him downe, viewing howe the assault woulde succeed, & making necessarie countersignes: *Prosper Colona* came to the bridge before that either *Sanches d'Auila*, or the horsemen could attaine to the other banke, it may be for that it behoued them to make a longer march, or for that the Italians (as the Duke said) to winne honor, made too great haste: They found it not vnfurnished, for the Portugals had there planted their souldiers of most esteeme, who at the first assault made great resistance: For although the Italians fought valiantly, yet was it long ere they preuailed any thing; for the place being narrowe, defended and guarded

guarded in flanke with some Harquebusiers which had fortified themselves within a mill, to the which they coulde not approch by reason it was inuironed with water, they came to fight with great disaduantage, so as hauing in a manner wone it, they were repulsed with some losses. But *Prosper* hauing caused his soldiers to mout vp on a narrow caufway, which kept the water of the mill, by the which they might (though vneasily) come vnto the house, hauing with the losse of some fewe assaulted it, those within were all cut in peeces, so as such as guarded the bridge, wanting their succours in flanke, being endomaged from the same mill, by the Italians, *Colona* charging them with greater force at the same instant on the bridge, he woone it, and passed to the other banke, wherein *Lewes Douara* did good seruice, who seeing the Italians repulsed, hee caused them to be succoured, almost against the Dukes will, with some Germaine pikes, the which he obtained from the Generall: There did they long endure a hot fight, for the Portugals being as yet ignoraunt that they were charged in any other other part, all the force of the armie with the Prior himselfe ranne to the bridge, where *Prosper* repeld them valiantly, and put them to flight: The Duke behelde what *Sanches d'Auila* shoulde do, being most assured that if he obeyed him, all the enimies campe were broken, but he feared, that seeing the Italians in fight (being cholericke) he shoulde be impatient, to take so long a course as to go charge them in flanke, but woulde assaile them at the first encounter, the which he esteemed dangerous, but seeing him obedient, he helde the battaile woone, so as comming to the other bank with his Harquebusiers, and *Farrant* with his horsemen, they founde no resistance: For although that *Anthony* being scarce arriued at the bridge, came to this other side, the Portugals beginning now to vnderstande the successe of the bridge, being fearefull, presently fled towards the citie. At this instant the Duke gaue signe vnto the galleies, who without their masters rowed towards the citie with the rest of their armie, discharging their artillerie against the Portugals fleete, the which being a little retired, without any place to flie vnto, set saile, but without any resistance they became a pray vnto the enimie.

*Anthony* being vnexpert, neuer supposed the Duke woulde charge him within his lodging, seeing himselfe at one instant so

*The flight of  
Anthony to-  
wards the citie*

much

ste, his de-  
fense and  
hurt.

much endamaged with the artillerie, the bridge to be forced, which he held for very strong his men to flie, and their horsemen to make way to cut off all way of retreat, he grewe amazed: Notwithstanding, being accompanied with Counte Emanuel of Portugall, with *Diego Boteglio* the elder, & *Edward de Castro*; he fledde likewise towards the citie, without order, or without any resistance, amidst the prease of his people, where at the entrie of the suburbs, he was hurt in the head by a soldier on horsebacke, and if he had staied but a little longer, or the horsemen made more haste, hee had beene taken prisoner, by some Italian aduenturers, who were aduaanced verie farre. In this haste hee passed with the rest of his broken armie through the citie, whereof a part, yet the least, following him, entered by one gate, and went soorth by an other; and the other parte which was the greater, hauing cast away their armes, hid themselues in their houses, where they had their wiues and children, and such as were come from other parts of the realme, assembled themselues in churches with great feare: In passing he commauded the prisons to be opened, so as with a great number of offenders that were deliuered, there came soorth such as were committed, as affected vnto *Philip*.

The Dukes men hauing slaine many of these miserable wretches with their shot and launces, who fledde by fower and sixe together, making but a weake and vnprofitable resistance, came to the citie; *Ferrant de Toledo* as chiefe, marching before the rest, vnder whose authoritie the whole armie was gouerned, seeing the battaile woone, fearing the soldiers furie should do more hurt then he wished, did expressly keepe them backe, causing them to stay, supposing there might remaine yet some men to conquer; and being come to the gates of the citie, hee staied to parley with the Magistrate of the chamber from the wals, who was come thither to that effect: But their treaties were shorte, and little disagreeing, for the Portugals seeing themselues before the Castillians soldiers, their miserable king hurt and fled, and their army in route, they seemed to be now reduced to their last exigent: And *Ferrant* ( although a conquerour ) yet desirous ( according to the kings meaning ) to saue the citie from spoile, they soone agreed: *Ferrant* demaunded the citie, the Portugals desired to know in what sort, and although some answered

answered at discretion; yet the Magistrate offring to yeeld as other cities had done, it was graunted they shoulde haue their liues and goods saued, least by longer stay the soldiers shoulde haue occasion to cōmit some disorder. Notwithstanding some of the Magistrates being let downe from the wals, were carried behinde some Castillian Caualiers to the Duke, who granted them their demaunds with better acceptation, and more freely. Then began the soldiers against the Dukes will to disband and spoile that part of the citie, which is without the wals, the which is greater, nobler, and fairer, then that within, and is so spatiouse, as many great cities are not comparable vnto it: So as although this body in the midst of Lisbone was not spoiled, yet the suburbs were, and all places thereabouts; and likewise some houses within, the which vnder colour to appertaine to rebels, were giuen in pray to the soldiers, whom they coulde no otherwise withstand, seeing they had sufficiently obied, in preseruing the citie from spoile three daies: Many innocent citizens lost their most precious mooueables, the which by reason of the plague which then raigned greatly in the citie, they had transported to their farmes, and other possessions neere thereabouts, where they were spoiled. The extortions the soldiers committed were not great, but the riches that fell into their hands were infinite. The galleyes did great harme, for besides the spoiling of the bankes of Tagus, and the ransacking of all the ships within the Porte, where they founde infinite store of merchandise; they serued like wise vnto the soldiers that were on lande, as a meanes to hide and carrie away all things were they never so great, not being forced to discharge themselves of their baggage, to sell them at lowe prices vpon the place, as it often hapneth. The custome houses, that is to say the generall, and that of merchandise of the Indies, alwaies full of pretious wares, although they were without the citie gates, yet were they not spoiled: For by reason of their great riches, *Alonso de Leua* Generall of the galleies of Sicily, sent a guard of priuate soldiers to haue care and defend them: The religious women, whose monasteries were all without the wals, were preserued; and withall much wealth that was kept there, yet much of that which was left in the houses of religious men was stolen away; but most of all in that of Saint Rocke, whereas the Iésuits remaine; for certaine Italian

*The yeelding of Lisbone.*

*The spoile of  
the suburbs  
of Lisbone.*

soldiers being first entred, were expelled by the Spaniards, who being sent thither by their commaunders, vnder colour to preserue them being friends, they committed greater excesse then the other, being enimies, would haue done; for the Italians being departed, the Spaniards hauing searched out the most secret things, and finding them, they carried them by night into the galleies, and into their houses. The diuersitie of nations which were at the spoile, caused more respect to the women, and holy things then had beeene otherwise; for the Spaniards most insolent in other countries, were here against their nature very continent, least by their example the Italians and Germaines in Spaine shoulde grow worse. The boote of mooueables and other precious things, which this citie in so many yeeres peace, and by the traffique of the Indies had gathered togither was infinite. The number of such as were slaine in the bataile was small, in regard of the little defence they made, notwithstanding there died not aboue a thousand of the Portugals, and not aboue a hundred of the Dukes armie, of so small force were the peoples armes, rusted with ease. The Duke when the citie was yeelded, came himselfe in person for the defence thereof; where hauing made some stay in one of the houses neere the suburbs, hee returned to lodge from whence the Portugals were departed. *Anthony* hauing dressed his wounde at Sacabem, sixe miles from Lisbone, marched easily toward Saint Arem: The Duke standing doubtfull whether he remained still within the citie, or were fled, for that the Portugals for his better safetie gaue out false rumours. This victorie was of great importance, and had beeene greater if the Prior had beeene taken prisoner, for in his safetie, the realme (which shoulde haue beeene in quiet) remained in suspence, all men supposing that he should repaire his forces, and trie his fortune a newe. The Duke was blamed of many for not vsing of greater diligence, saying, it was a great errore, in all other things to haue set so good an order, and to haue omitted it in this of such importance, some did attribute it vnto negligence, others vnto malice, especially for that *Anthony* had made so great a stay betwixte Sacabem and Saint Arem; so as he might easily haue suppressed him, and this was the issue of the bataile of Alcantara.

*The number  
that were  
slaine in the  
bataile.*

*The Duke  
blamed.*

In the meane while the ships which came from the Indies, were disanchored

disanchored from the Islands of Terceraes, & sailed towards Portugall, ill aduertised of what had passed. And for as much as they had former intelligence of their arriuall at the Islands, it was thought good they shoulde staine there, being valued at three millions, many doubted they shoulde be lost: For on the one side the Duke had sent some ships armed to seeke them, on the other side the Prior had sent certaine carauels with aduise to go to Penichie, a place vpon the coast twentie miles from Lisbone, towrdes the north, and therefore it was feared they coulde not escape the one, or the other, either to be taken by the kings ships, or to follow the direction of *Anthony*, and in what sort souuer, they shoulde bee lost: For falling into the hands of the Castillians they shoulde bee spoiled, and going to Penichie, the Prior woulde become master of priuate mens goods, and imploy them for the necessarie of the warres. And some ignorant of *Anthonyes* commission, supposed they shoulde either go to Fraunce or England, and that the Prior (finding the weakenes of his force, by the euent of this battaile) shoulde followe them; notwithstanding fortune did so second the beginning, that two daies after the battaile, they appeared in safetie, without any intelligence of these troubles within the realme, or any encounter vpon the way; such was the Catholique kings good fortune, that they arriued safe at Lisbone; where he receiuied what appertained to the crowne, and deliuered to euery priuate man his owne.

All this while they were in suspence at Badagios, expecting whether this enterprise shoulde be ended by armes or agreement, and so doubtfull euery man was, for that there appeared on either side great difficultie; the rather, for that the Duke could not stay long from entertaining one of these parties so different. But the xxvj. day of August, in the morning, there arriued a Spanish merchant without any letters from the Duke, who brought newes of the successfe: This man following the Spanish campe, when he saw the Priors armie in route, presently passed the riuier in a small barke, and tooke poste before him that brought aduertisement from the Duke, who presenting himselfe ynto the King, deliuered what hee had seene, whereof he receiuied such contentment as may bee supposed: This newes was presently spred throughout all the court, with the incredible ioy of all men, and to the great honour of the Duke, and with

such kinde of commendations, as the force of truth doth vsually draw vpon the sodaine, euen from the mouth of enimies: But the confirmation of these newes, staying longer then was conuenient for the neerenes of the place, and the importance of the action, they began to doubt with so great perturbation, that there was no lesse shewe of their generall desire, then of their received content: The which was after confirmed by the Arriuall of *Farrant de Toledo*, the Dukes nephew, whom he had dispatched with a priuate relation, not onely of the successe, but also of the reasons which had induced them to fight, and his direction giuen vnto the captaine, the which was generally approued of all, with no small honour to the Duke, saying, that he had now satisfied mens mindes, who held him alwaies to be too cunning and watchfull, to assure his enterprise by aduantages of lodging, and stratagems, auoiding the battaile by all meanes possible without great aduantage, following amongst the auncient *Captaines Fabius Maximus*, and amongst the later *Prosper Colonna* the elder, whom he sought to imitate: And this commendation of the Dukes proceeded from his two resolutions: The one to passe from Settual to Cascaies, and the other to fight at Alcantara, seeing in the first he alone did contradict his counsell, and contested both against sea and enimie: And in the second he resolued to fight dangerously with the Portugals, within their owne trenches, hauing a well peopled citie behinde them; and against the aduise of some of the principall of the armie. They did highly commend him to haue kept Lisbone from spoile; and at one instant to play the conqueror and protector, attributing vnto him for this respect more honour, then to haue retired his armie from the wals of Rome in the yeere 1557. hauing not fought there, vnto the gates of the citie, as he did at Lisbone.

*The com-  
mendations  
of the Duke  
of Alva.*

But these reasons with other, were dashed by a sodaine cruell accident, which so troubled the mindes of all men, as there was no time to thinke nor speake of any thing, the which was that vpon the newes of this happie successe, the king fell most dangerously sicke, the which so encreased, being brought to that point, that there was small hope of his life, and euen his Phisitions themselues almost gaue him ouer: vpon this subiect was all their discourses, for the king dying, it was supposed that the protector of Christendome shoulde

shoulde faile, and if there were any doubt, that his death in time might cause any alteration, it was then most of all to be feared: for besides that the affaires of Flaunders were troublesome, the humors of the French ill disposed, Portugall yet in ballance to incline to a contrarie partie, and the rest of Spaine was not well assured: The opinions were diuers what course to take, but all was confused, and all full of feare. The Duke of Alua whose opinion many of the better sort did follow, thought it fir, that the king dying, the Queene with the prince should presently enter into Portugall, and goe to Lisbone, thinking by this meanes with the forces he had there readie, not onely to keepe the realme in peace, but also to assure the other estates of Spaine: He now laboured to stablish the affaires, for depriving from the office of the magistrate of the chamber of Lisbone, such as had been installed by the Prior, he restored such as had bin before; calling them vnto him, he said; it was now time that in the cities behalfe, they should sweare obedience vnto the king, and proclame his name in the publique streetes, with accustomed ceremonie; whereunto they willingly offered themselues, demaunding leaue for this cause to make publique feastes, and that withall, the priuileges of the citie might be confirmed: Whereunto he answered, that there was then no neede, but they should reserue it, vntill the prince were there present to be sworne, whome his Maies-  
*Lisbone*  
*sweares obedi-*  
*ence to the*  
*king.*  
tie had resolued to send vnto the citie to be bred vp amongst them; and as for their priuileges, they were very small, that he woulde graunt them more ampie. So as the eleventh day of September in the Dukes lodging, they tooke their oath in forme, and the next day after dinner, the magistrate going thorough the citie with the standard and their Attaballes, they proclaimed the name of King *Philip* after the accustomed manner; yet with a weake voice, and small assemblie of people. And as in the proclaiming of other kings there appeered nothing but feasts and ioy; here was nothing to be seene, but secret sighes and hidden sorrow with flatterie: The Dukes armie was lodged vntill the tenth of September betwixt the citie and Alcantara, at the same lodging where the Portugals had lodged, without any resolution what to doe, still expecting some newes of the Prior. At which time there grew (as a companion to warre) not  
*A cantagi-*  
*ous Catar.*  
only in the campe, but likewise in the citie a contagious infirmitie

of Catarre, so dangerous, that it did no lesse harme then the pestilential contagion; few were free from this disease, and many of them died, especially of the soldiers, for that to a new disease, ordinarie remedies helpe little: *Anthoine* soone after arriued at Saint Arem, where the magistrate of that place, (being the selfesame,) who a little before with so great ioy had proclaimed him king, would not give him entrie, so are mens mindes turned with fortune; yet hauing promised to depart presently, they suffered him to enter vpon that condition, and the day following, he went towards Coimbra.

*Saint Arem  
yeelds obedi-  
ence.*

Soone after the citie of Saint Arem sent to yeelde their obedience, and whilst they expected that Coimbra shoulde doe the like, they had newes that the Prior was there, that he fortified himselfe in those partes, that he repaired Mount Maior the olde, and brake the bridge vpon the riuier of Doro: And although there were no doubr, that he could assemble men sufficient to terrifie the Duke, yet hereby they vnderstood that the warre was not ended, and that they could not dismisse any part of the armie, which they had resolued to send backe, with the galleies of Italie; so as by a little stay, they lost the season of sailing in that sea with their galleies; but for that the countrey is not fruitfull, and that victuals grew very deere within the citie, they lodged the Germanes at Settuall, resoluing to send the Italians to Saint Arem: But hauing the newes confirmed, that the Prior assembled forces, the Duke woulde not separate his troupes so farre from him, but lodged the Italians and Spanyards in the suburbs of the citie (which place had beene spoiled) to defende them from the daily raine which began to fall.

*The Prior  
assembles  
new forces.*

At this time the Prior with his traine tormented the inhabitants of the prouince betwixt Doro and Mignio, assembling men of warre by force, and for that many (doubting sinister euent) feared that in faiing of him they shoulde prejudice themselues, he forced obedience vpon greeuous paines, which he imposed vpon such as followed him not: So as some for feare of their persons, others of their goodes, came vnto him; yet were there others, who of their naturall inclination would not leaue him vntill death: In this sort, he gathered together fower or five thousand men, with the which he held the citie of Coimbra in awe, so as it could not yeelde to the Catholique king: Hee went with them to Auero, where hauing found

found some resistance, he vslid his greatest force: For hauing with some small peeces of artillerie battered the wals, he gaue a confused assault; but profitting little, his friends within did so weaken the defence by words and force, that the Priors men entred: The succours which *Pantaleon de Sada* brought from Porto, comming too late: There he imprisoned diuers persons, he slew, spoiled, and ruined all he could: By these actes (which seemed vnto them most glorious) his peasantlie soldiers were growne to that arrogancie, that armed with hookes, and staues, they threatned to goe to Lisbone, to free the realme from the hands of the Castillians: And this foolih presumption was not a little furthered with the newes, that *Anthonie* had of the kings sicknesse, whome they gaue out to be dead, being attired all in blacke the better to perswade them.

*Auerora-  
ken.*

The Duke was well aduertised of all these things, finding still more plainly of what importance the flight of *Anthonie* was: There wanted not some that charged him to haue forborne too long, in sending men after him, yet hauing care to assure that which did more import; he would not deuide his forces, vntill he did see an end of the kings infirmitie, who hauing long laboured in the extremities of death, he began with an vniuersall ioy to recouer, and encreasing daily the signes of health, he grewe well; wherewith feare which troubled the mindes of men being taken away, they began to talke againe of the victorie, and of the Dukes actions: But this commendation which was attributed vnto him (as it hapneth in all worldly actions) continued little, and rarely shall you finde so apparant an example of the inconstancie of the people, and the force of enuie as this was: for sodainly his praises were turned into murmurings, and open flaunders, searching so many reasons to deface the Dukes merits, as two daies before they had alleged to extoll his actions. The Dukes reprehensions grew from the proper ministers of this warre, or from such as followed the enterprise, who offend with him for the diuersitie of their opinions, or for their own priuate practises, or else (as some would haue it) desirous to creepe into the kings fauour by like reports, did write that the facke had beene very great, and freely suffred for three daies, whereunto they woulde attribute the Portugals disobedience, and their discontentment against the Castillians, labouring to prooue, that if the Duke had

*The Duke  
blamed.*

had pleased, by his authoritie hee might haue staied it, but being partaker with his kinsemens ( who were more imploied to spoile then to fight ) of a good part of the bootie, hee did tolerate it; leauing outrages and thefts vnpunished, although complaints were made vnto him. That the termes of conquest,taking of cities, and route of armie, were vaine and vnproper, seeing that in no place they had founde any resistance; and that this multitude of Portugals, as simple people (deceiued by their priests in confessions and preachings) could not be termed an armie, nor their route called a victorie: And so blinde is enuie, that two armies encoutring with many peeces of great artillerie, fighting on the one side for the paßage of a bridge, on the other side in their trenches, the Portugals foote and horse broken, the enimie put to flight, the standard roiall taken, with many other coulors, and aboue a thousand men slaine, and yet they woulde not haue this a battaile? Some which did charge him with negligence saide, that seeing hee had an intention to dislodge this armie (after he had attempted the bridge & the trenches) he shoulde haue stretched foorth his horsemen further on the lefthande, to cut off the enimies way, and to take him prisoner, if he woulde flie; but to keepe himselfe so farre off as he coulde not ouertake him, was an vnexcusable faulte in so great a captaine: Others saide, that it was not credible, but he shoulde haue taken him, if hee had pleased to place his horse in a conuenient place for that purpose, which euerie ignorant captaine woulde haue considered, but that hee willingly suffered him to flie; that by meanes of *Anthonies libertie*, the warre shoulde not seeme to be ended, a thing which captaines doe commonly wish, preferring their owne authoritie, and their priuate respect, before the publike good: Others did adde that if hee would haue taken him after his flight, and the battaile woon, hee might well haue done it, for making no haste to flie, he might so speedily haue followed him with his horse as the importance of his person did require.

*The Dukes excuses.*

Amongst so many accusations, fewe durst speake for the Duke, yet some of his friendes laboured to iustifie him, saying, that time, place, and desire to assure the victorie, doth often hinder the execution of those things which the captaine wisheth: That it was not then conuenient to follow the Prior; For considering the ineuitable disorders

disorders of the soldiers, in sending many, hee had contrarie to the kings pleasure wasted the countrey, and if hee had sent fewe, they had not beene safe; and therefore he desired to temper this heate of victorie in the soldiers mindes, meaning after to sende a part of the armie in good order, but when as hee ment to effect it, the Kings sicknes hapned, whereof he desired first to see the issue, before he woulde bee vnfurnished of his forces. That touching the inuironing of the enimies campe with his horse, besides that they had no sufficient number to do it, it had not beene the resolution of a wise captaine to make a scaredfull enimie desperate; and to force him either to fight or become a prisoner. Touching the sacking of the suburbs, they saide it was no small good happe to haue so many houses without the wals of the citie; for otherwise they should hardly haue kept the soldiers from spoiling it, and that it was in a manner necessarie for the sacking of the citie to haue something to quench this desire, which they had brought with them. And as there was some difficultie to sauе the citie from the sacke, so was it impossible to keepe the suburbs from spoile, seeing the battaile was giuen within the limits thereof. They laughed at such as said the Duke was partaker of the spoile, seeming vnto them a matter farre from his qualitie. They shewed that although they woulde not haue it saide that the battaile were glorious, but vnwoorthie, against a small number of seditious monkes, apostataes, and fugitiue slaves, yet coulde it hardly be concealed, for it coulde not be denied but that *Anthony* had a great number of men in a strong lodging, amongst the which were many of the Nobility, and that which most supplied their want of experience, passionate against the Catholique king, and most affectionate to the Prior; that in armes where such things happen, it is not credible they so easily yeeld or flie of themselves, if they be not encountered with a captaine that is both valiant, & of iudgement, who by force or cunning doth breakē them & put them to flight. They did prooue by lively reasons that it was not credible that the Duke with a resolution so hurtfull to his king, should prolong the enterprise, & seeke to continue his commaund, by meanes of the warre, saying, that although in auncient common wealthes, noble citizens were desirous to be imployed in expeditions, and governments of armes, to free themselves from the subiection of the

Senate,

Senate; yet was it not so in the gouernment of later princes; where-  
as such as be neare the king haue more authoritie, then such as bee  
retired. They added vnto these reasons, the consideration of the  
Dukes age, fidelitie, and experiance, with auncient and newe exam-  
ples; concluding it was likely, that without any priuate subiect, hee  
had laboured with his best endeouour wholie to serue the king: But  
alihough he were vehemently defended, yet could they not wholly  
roote it out of the mindes of men; so is the chance of this worldly  
Tragedie tossed vpside downe, that the captaine which the weeke  
before had beene triumphant and glorious, lay now in his bed sicke  
with sorrow, flaundered with his Prince, and his armie halfe defea-  
ted, languishing with hunger and want, infected with the plague, in-  
famous for excesse and violence; some part whereof was true, and  
some false; so as the soldiers were troubled, melancholy, and an-  
gry; and although with the insolencie of conquerors, yet seemed  
they like men vanquished: They commaunders of the armie were  
likewise indispare to reape any recompēce of their seruice, so as the  
captaines which resolued to plant them selues in Portugall, and re-  
ceiuē great recompence by confiscations, were deceipted of their  
hopes: For the King who had an other meaning, resolued to for-  
get all the wrongs the Portugals had done him, and not onely to  
pardon their disobedience, but also reward and cherish them as his  
children. It was generally spokon, that vpon the Priors defeate and  
yeelding of the citie of Lisbone, the King shoulde presently go thither  
in person, and by graunting rewardes and pardons, labour to  
winne the Portugals loues, and to qualifie that bitternes which the  
spoile and insolencie of the soldiers had bredde. But although there  
had beene already speech of his going to Eluas, and that he desired  
to make his entrie as king of Portugall; yet did he not effect it, for  
that as it is saide before, the plague was dispersed into many parts  
of the realme. He laboured to become master not onely of all pla-  
ces within the realme, but also of all others that depended thereof:  
when as the armie began first to enter the realme, he had sent into  
Affrick to demaund obedience of those places, but for as much as  
*Anthony* had preuented him by former letters vnto the captaines,  
his busines being in better estate, then they prooved afterwardes,  
the inhabitants woulde not agree to acknowledge *Philip*; by reason  
whereof

whereof, the battaile being woone, he sent againe vnto them; for being of great importance for Spaine, he feared, that remaining vnder the Priors commaund, he shoulde rashly dispose of them, so as promising tecompeunce to the captaines, they did acknowledge him for their Lord, but with greater facilitie in one place then in another; so as without any innovation, hee confirmed the same captaines, and the same garrisons.

*The yeelding  
of the places  
in Africks  
which the  
Portugals  
held.*

The Islands of Terceraes were not neglected by the Duke, the *Tre Terceraes.* assurance whereof seemed greatly to import, and therefore vpon the brute of the victorie, hee sent a messenger thither, with letters from the king, and the citie of Lisbone: but the matter being first well debated at Badagios, it was supposed by the Councell, the Portugals alone to be more fitte to mannage that busines, then if the Castillians shoulde entermeddle; and therefore the King did write vnto Lisbone to *Edward de Castelbianco*, that conferring with the Duke as a Portugall, he should go thither: But he resolued not, for being newly created officer of the chamber, he founde that *Edward Borges* whom the Duke had appointed to sende, remained accountable to the crowne for certaine money, so as hee thought not good to imploy him, nor to choose any other in his place. The Duke vnderstanding of the Kings recouerie, leauing the care of the Islands to him that had it, would no longer delay to send against the Prior, and although the time was vnfite; yet the xxij. of September he dispatched *Sanches d'Aula* into those parts with fower thousand foote, and fower hundred horse, who marched directly towards Coimbra, but vnderstanding soone after that many of his soldiers died by the way, that many fledde into Castil, and that with great difficultie, (by reason of the great abundance of raine), he shoulde conduct fower peeces of artillerie, the Duke sent after him other fifteene hundred foote, vnder *Diego de Cordova*, and prouided shippinge to sende the cannon by sea: *Sanches d'Aula* tooke his first lodging at Loures, from thence he marched to Torrez Vedras, where having brokene one of his carriages, he was forced to leaue a peece of artillerie there, from thence he went directly to Coimbra, passing by Gibarotta, where hee did see the spoiles of that famous viisitacion, whiche the Portugals had against the Castillians; from thence hee sent two companies of horse to Coimbra, the which vntill

*Sanches de  
Aula a-  
gainst the  
Prior.*

*The yeelding of Coimbra.* vntill they had discouered them woulde not yeeld their obedience; yet vpon view of the horfe, they mette them with the keies of the citie, and *Emanuel de Sosa Pacheco*, commissarie general of the campe, entred to receiue their allegeance. The Prior hauing newes of these things at Auero, woulde not attende *Sanches d' Aula*, remaining in suspence, whether he shoulde imbarque himselfe, and abandon the realme; but hauing received letters from some of Porto, who promised to obey him, he marched thitherwardes with all the troupes he could make, whereof hauing yet made no mention, being a place of importance, we will digresse a little to reporte the estate thereof, during these troubles.

*The estate of Porto and the reduction.*

The inhabitants thereof doe account themselues the wisest amongst the Portugals, who hearing the Catholique king began to arme, and that the Gouvernours did rule, sent to court, demanding armes and munition for their defence if neede were: But their Embassadors arriuing at Almeryn, they founde the Gouvernours were retired to Settuual, and that the Prior was proclaimed king; so as the Embassage they had in charge to impart to the Gouvernours, they deliuered to the newe King, without warrant from their superiors, who gaue vnto them such artillerie and munition as they required: The Embassadors being returned therewith to Porto, there grew a diuision amongst the Citizens, for some (affected vnto *Anthony*) approoued the Embassage; others being more sauere said, that being sent to the Gouvernours, and deliuering their Embassage to the Prior, they were worthy of blame: So as one part woulde receiue the munition, and artillerie, and vse it at their neede, saying, that they shoulde receiue it, although it came from their enenies; the rest woulde by no meanes accept it, seeming that thereby they did acknowledge him for king, and make themselues suspect to the Catholique king; the which they woulde by no meanes do, but entertaine themselues as newters and lookers on: but the pluralitie of voices refusing to accept the armes, the Embassadors (by the aduise of *Pantaleon de Sada*, *Ferrant Nunes Barretto*, and *John Rodrigo de Sada*, who were the most famous men that gouerned the citie) left the artillerie and munition within the castell of Fiera, a little from thence, leauing the citie vnfurnished. But the Duke disimbarking at Cascaies before the battaile of Alcantara, they sent to yeeld their obedience:

obedience. When as the Prior came into these quarters he seazed on this artillery and munition, and therewith battered Auero; from thence he went to Porto, where although some had giuen out most flaunderous speeches against him, so as it was likely they woulde haue no agreement nor conuention with him, yet the greatest part, enclined to obey him: hee was ioyfully receiued of all vnder a can-napie: and *Pantaleon de Sada* with his companions, ( foreseeing the humour of the people) without seeking of any remedie, excusing themselues, if they were not obeied, woulde not stay there but im-barking themselues in a carauell they went into Gallicia, and from thence to Lisbone.

The Prior staied tenne daies in this ciue, spoiling some priuate mens houses, that were his enimies: he tooke sugars and other merchandise from the merchants, and sent them into Fraunce; hee de-maunded to borrow one hundred thousand duckats of the peo-ple; and being aduertised that *Sanches d' Alua* approached, and that Coimbra, Mounte Maior, and some other places, had deliuered vp their keies, he sent the Bishop of Guarda to Viana, and to Ponte de Lima, to assemble more forces, and to stoppe the passage of the riuier.

The Duke of Alua was now at Lisbone with a troubled mind, for *The Portugals and Castillians disa-*  
seeing the Portugals become more insolent then before, & to disa-gree with the Castillians; he had no authoritie frō the king to punish them, or to do such execution as was conuenient, and had beeene ac-customed to do in other places; that the Prior yet kept the field with his forces; that daily there grewe quarrels within the citie, betwixt the Castillians and the Portugals; and that the nations were so incensed one against an other, that it was to be feared it would breed some great disorder. And although the Castillians had expresse order to endure all things, yet had they not the patience: For this manner of the Dukes proceeding, (misconstrued by the Portugals to proceed from feare) growing daily more proud, they forced the Castillians to quarrel with great discourtesie: For redresse whereof, the Duke hauing somewhat fortified the castell, which is seated vp-on a small hill neare the citie, a most auncient building, drew thither the greatest number of his soldiers, artillery, victuals, and munition, taking them from the guard of the citie gates, where they grewe odious;

odious; by meanes whereof he was more assured, and lesse hatefull, and the Portugals choler somewhat qualifed.

*The yeelding  
of Auero,  
and other  
exploites of  
Sanches d'  
Auila.*

At this time Sanches d' Auila, approched neere to Auero, where hee was mette without the wals by the principall of the citie, who wept for ioy, but chiefly amongst the rest, such most rejoiced as had beeene kept in prison, in danger to loose their liues for resisting the Prior. Hauing there receiuied the oath of fidelitie from the Magistrate, vnderstanding that Anthony was gone to Porto, hee followed after, desirous to encounter him with all the speede he could: Diego de Cordoua being now arrived at the campe, with troupes which the Duke had sent after him; the which by death and the flight of many were diminished to fие hundredth: Hee made diuers lodgings, molesting the countrey little, being arrived at Rifana of Santa Maria, the which is fifteene miles from the left banke of the riuier of Doro, vpon the right banke whereof, Porto is seated, hee devised by what meanes hee shoulde passe the riuier; supposing hee had no greater difficultie then this to vanquish the enemie: Hee knewe it was verie violent, running betwixte high mountaines without a nie forde; hee carried with him vpon carts, some small boates to cast into the riuier; the which although they were fewe in number, yet did hee meane to runne alongst the shoare, and to take others; but the ioints thereof were so shaken and open with the waie, and carriages, that hardly could they serue: Hauing therefore passed the monasterie of Griso, towardes the riuier, hee sent to the shoare to search for other boates, but hee founde not any; for besides the Priors commaundement, that no barke should passe from the right shoare, three or fourre being armed scoured the riuier vp and downe, to hinder their passage; whereupon hee sent with great expedition, as well to places neere, as a farre off, to search for some, whereof he failed not, for although there were none neere the citie, yet in places further off vp the riuier, where the Portugals supposed the Castillians would not come, they founde and tooke many; whereunto ioyning those of Massarellos (a place vpon the left banke) the inhabitants whereof (discontented against the Prior, who had burned their houses for not duly obeying his commandement) were fled with their wiues and boates vnto the Castillians campe. It did also somewhat helpe, that Anthonie Serrano one

*The statu-  
gem of An-  
thonie Serra-  
no to recover  
a boate.*

of

of the capaines which *Auila* had sent to discouer, hauing runne almost to the mouth of the riuver, and not found any, discouering one, whereunto he durst not approch, putting his men in Ambuscado, stripping himselfe halfe naked, seeming to haue been robbed by the Castillians, and calling the water men to him by the voice of a Portugall spie, which he had with him, he caused the boate to draw neare, and being entred into it, he discharged a pistoll, which was hidden vnder him, by meanes whereof he did not onely amaze the marriners, but gaue signe vnto the ambush, which discouering it selfe, the boate was presently taken, with two or three others (although but small ones) that were thereabouts; so as all togither made fiftie and thirtie, with the which he supposed to passe a good part of his armie. *Sanches d'Auila* desired much to hasten his passage, supposing that he had men sufficient, but this resolution was helde rash, by the capaines that were about him; seeming vneasie to passe with boates any where but at Pietra Salata, where lieth the ordinary passage, the which was fortified; for in other places the steepenesse of the banks would not suffer it, so as they could not deceiue the enimie, as they doe commonly, making shew to passe in one place, and goe to another. They obiected there were few barks, and ill prouided with marriners, and although they would containe a great part of the footemen, yet could they not hold the horse, the which they must leaue behinde them, which was not thought conuenient; forasmuch as on the other side, they did not onely see the place of their disimbarke ment fortified with artillerie, and rampiers, but also the banks replenished with foote, and good store of horsemen; so as it seemed they coulde not attempt this passage, without great losse, saying that it was better to seeke meanes to prouide victuals, and to behauethe selues more discreetly vpon the passage, seeing that their safetie was of more importance to the king, then their speede. *Sanches d'Auila* waighed well all these inconueniences, yet two things pressed him greatly to passe; the one was want of victuals, and the difficultie to recouer them, the which encreased daily: the other was to vnderstand that *Edward de Lemos*, *Martin Lopez d'Azenedo*, and *Anthony de Sousa Coutigno*, who followed the Prior in this prouince, had assembled men to come to his succour, the execution whereof they sought to impeach; adding to this the smal

*Sanches D.  
Aula pas-  
seth the ri-  
uer of Doro,  
as Auntes.*

account he held of the Portugals by his experience in former acti-  
ons, he resolued in any sort to passe: for this cause hee approached  
with his armie neer the riuier, where the Portugals hauing fortified  
themselues within a forte, which is aboue the citie of Gaija, hee  
thought it shoulde be necessarie to batter it, and there to make some  
stay. But it fell out more easie then he expected, for hauing sent  
*Peter de Soto* the elder, with some horse to discouer it, they within  
(hauing once discharged their harguebuses against the horsemen)  
abandoned the forte, and retired to the citie; so as remaining no  
defence on that side, he deuised by what meanes he shoulde passe  
with the least losse. He himselfe ranne vp against the streme, to see  
if he coulde discouer any other passage; but finding all rough and  
steepe, he saw no other place conuenient, but Auntes, two miles  
from the campe, where (although vneasily) both on the one and the  
other banke, they might imbarke and descend: There he resolued  
to passe, for this cause (being returned to his lodging) he published  
his intent, but some of the armie being of a contrarie opinion, ha-  
uing assembled them all together, he said vnto them: It will seeme  
strange vnto you, that I haue resolued to morrow to passe this riuier

*The speech  
of Anjalo  
to his soldiers.*

with the whole armie, supposing it may be, that it is vneasie and dan-  
gerous, for the season being vnsit, the banks steepe, the enimie vpon  
the other side, armed and fortified, shoulde make you doubt the  
victorie; especially being in greater number then we are: But for as  
much as where the feare is least, there is least danger, I would let  
you see that there is no cause to feare any perill, but an assurance of  
honour and profite: These doubtes (if you haue any before your  
eies) be all vaine, for the season doth not offend vs, seeing that the  
waues are calme, the banks giue vs sufficient roome, and our eni-  
mies fortifications are as weake, as their resistance hath been hither-  
to: Remember that coniming from Settuall with the galleyes, you  
descended at Cascayes, where the same enimies vnder the most fa-  
mous Captaine of Portugal had their armie, & yet they neither hin-  
dred our landing, or scarce endured our sight; for in a manner with-  
out seeing vs, they did abandon the most important place of the  
realme. Call to minde that all Portugall, being assembled with  
their counterfeit king, lodged at Alcantara, a place by nature most  
strong, furnished with artillerie and other armes, in their presence,

we

we battered the rocke of Saint Iulian, and forced it to yeelde, not daring once to succour it, or issue foorth to any small skirmish: and thinke you that the weakest part of this armie, and the most timorous, being retired on the other side of this riuver, shall make a greater resistance, then it did vnted? In this action we ought to striue for two things; the kings seruice, and our owne honours and reputations; the which fortune seemes to frame, as is most conuenient for vs: For if the enimies we haue in fronte, were so lodged, that there remained no let betwixt vs, we should doe the king small seruice, and winne our selues little honour by the conquest; but our good fortune will haue it so, to the ende our praise may be the greater, that *Anthoine* had taken (as a buckler against vs) this riuver and these bankes, and that there he shoulde shewe vs his forces; that the general opinion is, that there hee may trouble his Maiestie in the iust possession of the realme, so as chasing him, wee shall deserue the greater recompence, by performing an enterprise that seemes vn-easie, the which in my iudgement wil prooue no more difficult, then the rest of this realme hath beene, if you be the same men you were few daies since: Yet suppose not that I acknowledge these victories wholie from your valour, for I thinke I may attribute it better to his Maiesties right, & the iniustice of *Anthony*. Who is he but knoweth that the realme appertaineth by iust title vnto our king? what iudgement seate is there in the world which hath not of themselues giuen sentence in his fauour? And contrariwise, who is ignorant that *Anthony* hath tyrannously vsurped the title of a king, that he hath neither right nor title to the realme? that hee is a bastard, insufficient, and vncapable of this degree; which things are knowne to all men, and therefore the iustice of God will make vs instruments to punish him that deserues it: So as neither rampiers, riuers, nor fortresses, can serue him that is in the wrong, for that a guiltie conscience, not onely weakens the hart, but makes all forces vaine. The equitie of the kings cause, and your valour, are not to bee encouerted by so weake enimies, but will surmount greater difficulties then this, as you haue scene, and shall see to morrowe, if it please God. These words with the authoritie of the captaine most renownmed amongst these soldiers, made all men iudge that his resolution was well considered, and therefore *Sanches d'Alvila* for the night and the day

following, did thus order the armie : He caused them to plant vpon the banke, directly against the towne, such artillerie as he had, in a place conuenient, both to scour the passage, & to endammage the other side ; leauing his lodging guarded with Germanes and Spaniards , he tooke the thirde parte of his foote, his boates and horse-men, & went by night vnto the passage, where he had beene, there to imbarke & passe to the other banke, meaning to charge the enimie in flanke ; the other two thirds of the armie vnder the charge of *Rodorick Sapatta* shoulde imbarke at Pietra Salata, in the rest of the barkeres, and draw after them so many horses as they coulde, tied by the reines, making shew to passe there, to the end to keepe the enimie busied with this feare ; yet commaunding them not to passe, vntill they shoulde see the enimie charged by the other thirde part, which had beene transported at the other passage. All these things were duly executed ; for the Portugals being vnexperienced in warre, coulde not prouide for so ordinarie a stratagem ; so as *Sanches d'Aula* being come to the towne side, he founde so weake resistance, that although some companies of soldiers were runne thither, yet he landed easily : And whereas their boates were not able to transport all their soldiers togither, the first which landed, hauing entred skirmish with the Portugals, before the comming of the rest, hauing slaine tenne or eleuen of them, they put them all to flight.

*The oration  
of Anthony  
to his soldi-  
ers.*

The Prior beleeuued not the Castillians shoulde so soone haue passed, but vnderstanding what they had done, and the small resistance of his men, being not yet generally published, hauing assembled many and of the chiefe, he speake thus vnto them : Tyrants use in their pretentions, when they distrust their right, to flic vnder other colours, to force, vsing this in steede of iustice, to obtaine their desires ; but iust and louing Princes, not onely submit them-selues to iustice, but do continually striue to be conformable to the will of their subiects : As for me, at such time as the succession of this realme failed, I was resolute to obey him, that by right shoulde bee declared king : I remained quiet, vntill that *Philip* dispairing of his iustice, and taking armes, it pleased you to name mee your king and protector : I accepted this burthen more (as God shall preserue our libertie) not seeing any one that coulde gourne you with true loue,

loue, then for any desire to rule: howe I haue behaued my selfe, " howe every thing hath passed, you knowe, who haue beeene alwaies, " and in all things, not my subiects but my compaions: want of time " woulde not suffer vs to prouide many things necessarie for the " warre; for I was no sooner named king, but the enimie prepared, " hauing before plotted many ambushes, and resolute what to doe, " inuaded vs with his forces, the which was cause that the munitions " appointed, & the succors promised by Christian princes, could not " come in due time; the which hath made our successe vnhappie: we " haue (in a manner disaried) already tried the hazard of a battaile, if " you thinke good to aduenture it againe, against an enimie that fol- " loweth vs, do as you please, but I am not of that opinion, for hauing " hitherto aduentured my person, and made this breast a buckler, I " am not now resolued, except you do otherwise aduise me, to thrust " both you and my selfe to the hazard of a doubtfull battaile; by " the victorie whereof, although it shoulde remaine on our sides, " there could not succeed the intention we haue, to expell the enimie " out of this realme, & by loosing it, I should be frustrate of the hope " I haue conceiued, to free you soone from the yoke which hangs " ouer you: God is my witnes, that al which I haue done, and shall do, " neither hath beeene, nor shall be to any other ende, but for the loue " of you, and to make equall this ballance of iustice, the which is " now forced by the might of the greatest enimie that euer Portugall " had. I know well you will beleue me, but if any amongst you doth " distrust my words, let him consider, that if I had not regarded your " profit, but mine owne priuate interest; I had beeene now quiet, rich, " and reconciled with the Catholique king, who hath often sought " me, by offers, and large promises; and you had beeene tyrannized " ouer, and in a manner slaues, as those be that haue so kings of their " owne countrie: But God forbid that euer I shoulde preferre mine " owne profit before yours, or mine owne benefit before the " realmes, whose people haue so much loued my progenitors: I may " well at this time, yeeld vnto the vniust forces, that doe oppresse me, " yet will I neuer renounce the realme, nor my title, but with newe " armes and new force, I hope againe to tri mine action; so as this " sorrow which I now see in your faces, shall be soone turned to ioy; " those armes, that munition, those men, which are not now arrived in " time,

time, shall serue hereafter : And if it be a humaine thing to take  
 compassion of the afflicted, I hope, being so vniustly molested, to  
 moue pitie, not only in the most pitifull, but also in the cruellest na-  
 tions of the world. I knowe that this loue which you haue alwaies  
 borne to me, and my predecessors, shall no waies be diminished by  
 any sinister euent, and I am so well assured, that although we shall  
 be now separated one from another, that shortly we shall be assem-  
 bled againe to your great benefite and profite, and to the shame  
 and dilhonour of our enimies. These words did moue the harts  
 and eies of many, no man answering him a word; so as being retired  
 with his faithfull followers, he departed as it were in secret, without  
 publishing his departure, and going to the Monasterie of Aronca  
 Anthony to  
*Viana.*

*The flight of*  
*Anthony to*  
*Viana.*

Sanches d' Auila having passed all his troupes, and put the Portugals, that kept the passage to flight, he came against the towne, the which being ignorant of the Priors intent, manned with many sol-  
 diers, resolued to defend themselues, keeping the Castillians all  
 they could from approaching with their artillerie. Being come to  
 the enimies cannon, Rodericke Sapatta arriued at the same instant  
 with his boates, who landed without any contradiction, but the  
 Portugals preuented them with their flight; so as there remained  
 not any one : Sanches did long pursue such as fled, and caused his  
 horse to followe them; but the rainie day and the diuersitie of the  
 waies, gaue them good meanes to escape; so as the Castillians re-  
 turned with the slaughter of few. The conquerors beleued, that

*The flight of*  
*the Portugals.*

*The citie of*  
*Porto yeelded.*

the Prior was yet remaining in the citie, seeing them make shew of  
 defence, and continually to play with their artillerie, the which did  
 small hurt : But whilst that Sanches looked about who made resi-  
 stance, and sought out the fitteſt lodging to force the towne, the  
 citizens discouering the Priors flight, changed their resolutions, ma-  
 king a signe of peace with a white cloth from the wals, which was an  
 assurance of the victorie, and of the Priors flight; by reason where-  
 of, diuiding his horsemen into two parts, he caused them to pursue  
 him, by two diuers waies, and the magistrate of the citie, issuing  
 foorth, yeelded his obedience, who offering to open the gates,  
 Sanches commaunded him to the contrarie for feare of the soldiers,

who

who were greedie of the spoile : But notwithstanding this order from the captaine, the city was in danger to be sacked; for remaining yet within some of the Priors soldiers, as some of the chiefe of the Castillians entred by one of the gates, the inhabitants let foorth the Portugals by an other ; the which they coulde not do so secretly, but they were discouered by some of the companies, that lay abroad, who suffring them to passe, entred by the same gate, and began to spoile some houses, on that side of the towne, and so had continued with the rest, if before the arriuall of the other companies, Sanches d'Auila hearing the noise, had not runne in person with the officers, and staied them by his authoritie.

In the meane time the Prior entring Viana, finding he coulde no longer make resistance within the realme, resolued to imbarke and saile into Fraunce, and for that cause did furnish a shipp ; but forbore to imbarke, by reason of the contrarie winde. At this time there arriued at Viana one part of those horse which persued him, hauing intelligence of his being there, against whom the citie put themselves in armes : But the captaine saying vnto them, that if they refused to obey, they should be spoiled by the armie which approched, and would arriue that day or the next, they grew amased, and yeelded vpon condition, to haue their liues and goods sauad. Vpon the view of these horsemen, the Prior finding himselfe in so great danger, in a place of small trust, and disarmed, resolued rather <sup>The taking  
of Viana.</sup> to contest against the waues, and windes, then against the enimie ; and therefore he imbarked with the Bishop, and some other of his traine, hoping, that whilst the citie made resistance, hee lying there concealed, soone small winde woulde drieue them from the lande : But fortune ( to speake after the common phrase ) seemed not yet wearie of him, for the sea swelled more, and the windes encreased, and continued so long, that the Castillians being entred, and demanding for him, they had intelligence he was in the shipp, making preparation to go take him, wherof they seemed to be assurred. But the Prior vnderstanding thereof, seeing into what danger he was now brought, hauing deuided his treasure ( which was not great ) to such as were about him, hee attired himselfe like a mariner, and accompanied with the Earle and Bishop, and some of his other fauorites, with the most pretious things that he had, he tooke boate

*Anthonie  
saues him-  
selfe on the  
other side of  
the riuere  
Minio, in  
danger to  
be taken.*

boate in great danger of drowning, landing vpon the other banke of the riuer of Minio, the which is directly against the citie. The which the Castillians discouering, made haste to pursue him: But for as much as the riuer is not to be passed there, before the Castillians could embarke, he had time to saue himselfe, loosing all his seruants, and some things of price, yet had hee all his most precious iewels sowed in his garments. True it is that since there was found in Castill some peeces of the rich caparison, whereof I made mention, in a souldiers possession, who said, he had then taken it from one of the Priors slaves; but the King suspicioous that *Anthonie* had beene his prisoner, and deliuered for that ransome, kept him long in prison. It seemed that Fortune did accompagne the Prior to preserue him, it may be for some greater affliction for this Realme, for at the same instant he left his boate, and went to lande, there arrived on the same side that other troupe of horsemen that pursued him, who had easily taken him, if they had once suspected he had beene there; but discouering on the other side a troupe of horse, imbarkeing to passe the riuer, not able to discerne ( by reason of the distance ) whether they were friends or enemis, nor for what reason they passed, they were in doubt what to doe, during which time the Prior retired himselfe: And although by their approch they found by their colours who they were, yet before the one could vnderstand the others resolution, the time was spent and they effected nothing.

*The death of  
Queene  
Anne.*

The king did now beginne to recover his health, after so dangerous a sicknesse, at which time Queene *Anne* his wife fell sicke of a rotten feuer, the which in few daies brought her to another life; wherewith the king was much grieved, being a Ladie wholy conformable to his humour, and indued with singular bountie. Hauing recovered his former health, forbearing to enter the realme, vntill all were reduced to his obedience, seeing now the Prior to be defeated, and to hide himselfe, he went to Eluas the first citie of the realme, where the Portugals receiued him with great joy; for that in this citie and others, bordering vpon Castill, their hatred is not so mortall against the Castillians, as in other places: There he did open the barred hauens, that is, he disanulled the imposts, which were paied, as well in Castill, as in Portugall, of all such merchandize

*The King  
enters into  
Portugall  
by the citie  
of Eluas.*

dize as passed from realme to realme; the which amounted yeerely to 150000 duckats; he set a tax of 80000 duckats vpon the Priors person, as a rebell and disturber of the quiet of the realme: He proclaimed a parliament at Tomar, the fifteenth day of Aprill, where he would assit in person, with the generall opinion and great hope of all men, that all Portugals that had offended, shold there receive their pardon, and the obedient haue reward; and that to all in generall, he would giue great recompences, graunting to the cities of the realme whatsoever they demaunded. There remained neither citie nor place, within the maine land of Portugall, that had not yeelded their obedience to the king of Spaine: For after the Priors flight from Viana, all was in the Castillians power; the places of Affricke were obedient, and so was the Iland of Madera; as for the places further off, time would not yet suffer them to haue any certaine newes.

There remained the seuen Ilands of Terceres, which had not yet made their submission, hauing aduertisement that (only S. Michaels excepted) all the rest refused to obey; and for as much as they were of no account, this disobedience made them famous: Although they be seuen in number, yet are they for the most part small and ill peopled: That of Saint Michael (a hundred miles neerer Spaine then the rest) is the best: There the Bishop of all these Ilands hath his residence: They call their principall towne Punta Delgada, the next vnto it is called Tercere, whereof all the rest take their name: This is fertill, and by nature more strong then the rest: Angra is their greatest dwelling, whereof the saide Bishop taketh his name: The rest, as Saint Marie, Fayale, Pico, Coruo, and Flowers, be lesser, and some of them wholly vnpeopled: The inhabitants of all in generall be superstitious, and vaine, grounding their discourses vpon fancie; for since the battaile of Affricke, they would neuer beleue that king *Sebastian* was dead: And although this opinion was helde long throughout the Realme, yet hath it beene more confidently beleueed there then in any other places; for notwithstanding they had seene the innouations which happened in the time of King *Henrie*, and of the Gouernours, yet did they still hope he shold appeare: But when the Prior was proclaymed King, it seemed they were somewhat satisfied; for hauing presently sent vnto these

*The descrip-*  
*tion of the*  
*Ilands of*  
*Terceres;*  
*and the in-*  
*habitants*  
*thereof.*

Ilands to take possession, with letters vnto all the Magistrates; hee was there sworne and willingly obeyed: and to performe this A<sup>c</sup>t of obedience, they sent as Ambassadors vnto him, *Stephen Siluera* and Fryer *Melchior* of the order of Saint Frauncis, who arriuing at Lisbone, could not execute their charge; for being defeated at Alcantara hee was fled towards Porto, yet making no account of the enimies victorie, they followed the Prior, & there in the name of all the inhabitants of these Ilands yeelded him obedience. After in the month of Nouember in the yeare 1580. they returned to Tercomes, giuing an account of their charge, adding that notwithstanding *Anthoine* had beene broken at Alcantara, yet he began in the Prouince betwixt Doro and Mynio with 3000. men, to be reuenged vpon the Castillians: And although they had after intelligence of *Philips* absolute victorie, and of the flight of *Anthoine*, yet they continued firme in their opinions, wherein they were daily confirmed, for that (as it is said before) the Kings ministers had neglected to send vnto them; whereas contrariwise *Anthoine* and the Earle of Vinirosa did still solicite them by curriers and letters to continue firme: the said Earle, hauing sent *Anthoine Scalyn* a Frenchman vnto them with letters, whereby in the Priors name hee did commende their good affection; they so far passed the bounds of ioy, as they receiuied him into Angra in procession, and vnder a cannapiet, conducting him to the Church of pitie, where the saide Fryer *Melchior* preached, applying their intentions to the will of God: and Fryer *Blaise Camello* did sing Mass, who in his prayer, with a lould voice praied for two Kings, that is, *Sebastian* and *Anthoine*, saying vnto the people which demaunded newes of *Sebastian*, that the fourth of August he would satisfie them. The inhabitants of the Illand of Saint Michaell, which had no such seditious firebrands, as that of Tercera, beeing by nature more peaceable, furthered by the Bishop who followed the Kings party, did not runne into so great disorders, but shewed themselues daily more obedient vnto *Philip*, who haing intelligence of all these things, desired to trie if hee could by gentle meanes draw this rebellious nation to his obedience, and at the last, remedie the error of his ministers; for to conquer them by force was supposed difficult, the Terceraes being naturally strong, and inuironed with high rockes, besides the sea going so high in those

those parts, as no shippes can liue about thre or fower moneths in the yeare: This enterprise was then supposed to be of more importance then it had beeene, not so much for the qualitie of the place, as for the situation, beeing an vnauoydable passage for the shippes that come from the Indies, and the new found landes, as well from the East as from the West, where the Frenchmen harbouring, they might greatly endomage Spaine: for this consideration the King sent *Ambrose d' Aguiar*, with a letter and ample pardon in a manner to all offendours, if leauing the part of *Anthonie*, they would follow his. But arriuung neere vnto Angra and sending his letters to land, the Islanders tooke counsell what to doe; but the people being then mad and without government, did not approoue the opinion of this counsell. The richer sort regarding their priuat profit would obey, for hauing all their rents in corne, the which they commonly send vnto the realme, they could not make sale in any other place; but being few, and not daring to speake their mindes, they deliuered it doubtfully: The poore, ( who finding the lesse corne were transported from the Ilands, the better cheape they shoulde buie it,) not caring to haue any trafficke with Portugall, would by any meanes follow the voice of *Anthonie*. Many kindled with rage, aduised they shoulde suffer *Ambrose d' Aguiar* to enter the citie, and after cast him in prison and punish him as Ambassador to a Tyrant. Some held they shoulde send him away without answere: Some of the chiefe ( who feared they were not comprehended within the pardon) did what they could to preuidice the Kings part, for dispairing to obtaine it, they laboured that no man should follow his voice, but so to wrong *Philip* as they should lose all hope euer to bee reconciled: wherein they preuailed so much, as that *Ambrose d' Aguiar* (who was appointed to be Gouvernor of the Iland of Saint Michaell) was sent backe. They caused a Masse to be saide, where all the people did sweare to die for *Anthonie*: In which humor they were still confirmed by false reports that were blowen abroad: For although the Prior were yet hidden in Portugall, yet the shippes which came from Fraunce, and England, to trafficke at the Ilands, to the end they might be the better fauored and receiued, brought newes that he was in their countrey, raising a great Armie. The people being in this humour easie to take any impression, there sud-

*The resolu-  
tion of the  
inhabitants  
of Tercerae*

denly steps vp a Smith of the basest sorte, who followed by the multitude, plaied the Southsayer; saying that the tenth of March without all doubt, King *Sebastian* shoulde come into that Iland. The day being come, with great expectation of the people, there appeered a great shippe at sea, the viewe whereof, did so much alter this people, that the Smith crying, this was the shippe wherein the King was; every man ranne to the shoare to see him, as as it were expecting *Sebastians* landing. But although the shippe followed an other course, not drawing any thing neere to the Iland, yet the people left not their vaine hope, but some of them affirmed, that the shippe had put three men into their cockboate, the which  
" were entred into the couent of Saint Frauncis, supposing it shoulde  
" be King *Sebastian*, *Christopher de Tauora*, and the Cheriffe. And al-  
" though this lie might easily be deciphered, yet their offences would  
" not permitte it, but running from one scruple to an other, it seemed  
" they were destinate to liue in suspence: for these friers of Saint  
Frauncis, against the truth of priesthoode ( vnderstanding the peo-  
ples opinion, that the King was in their couent ) did confirme it, gi-  
uing them to vnderstand it was true, and the better to induce them  
to beleue it, seeming on the one side to keepe it very secret; on the  
other side shewing they had guests of importance, they demau-  
ded secretly (but so as it might be knownen) to borrow beds of silke,  
siluer vessels, and other things fit for a kings seruice: They caused  
also garments to be made, and kept their gates more strictly then  
of custome, saying in their sermons, that they would giue them two  
naturall kings; and some hearing them in their masies to praeic for  
*Sebastian* and *Anthony*, supposed he was in their monasterie, and not  
*Sebastian*, seeing that since his departure from Viana, there was no  
certayne newes of him. In this Iland (*Ciprian de Figueredo* sometimes  
seruant to the Counte of Vimioso ) being sent thither for iudge,  
was become ringleader of all the rest: This man (being contrary to  
the Castillians, and agreeing with the monkes) did countenaunce  
their practises, remaining in their couent, from morning vntill night:  
He confirmed the people in their foolish belief, that the King was  
there. This nation was not well setled in matters of religion, for  
growing insolent by their libertie, some preachers attributing vnto  
themselues more authoritie then they had, promised absolution,  
and

and many things which they ought not, making shewe they would  
builde a church after their owne fashion, and for that the Iesuites  
had opposed themselues, or at the least were not of one consent,  
they were walled vp within their monasterie.

*The Iesuites  
walled up at  
the Terce-  
raies.*

And although these Ilands were not al obedient, being a slow en-  
terprise, yet the warre seemed as then in a manner ended, that *Phi-*  
*lip* hauing great forces in Spaine, knew not how to imploie them; &  
forasmuch as the soldiers ( returned from the warres in the lowe  
Countries ) were now vpon the way, comming from Italy towards  
Portugall, with some others newly leuied, they saide the King ( ad-  
ding some fewe forces thereunto ) might raise a great armie to bee  
imploied vpon that occasion, for the which they vnderstoode the  
Pope as carefull of his charge, had renewed the practizes to bende  
these forces against England, the which woulde not obey the Ro-  
mish sea, and therefore hee propounded to king *Philip*, that if hee  
woulde leuie an armie and sende it to this conquest, he woulde assist  
him in this enterprise with the treasures of the church; offring to  
graunt vnto him Croisades, exemptions, and subsidies, and to ac-  
quite him of a million of golde, which hee saide was due vnto the  
church, for the reuenewes he had receiuied of the Arclibishopricke  
of Toledo, by title of sequestration, when as the Archbischop was  
suspended from his charge. But the King hauing newly taken pos-  
session of the crowne, seeing the Portugals not well quieted, sought  
first to pacifie the realme, before hee woulde vndertake any other  
enterprise: Notwithstanding at the Popes motion, who saide, that  
arming in those parts, hee shoulde not onely keepe Portugall in  
awe, but all Spaine and Fraunce likewise. It may be he woulde not  
haue refused to send a good part of his forces, if not into England,  
yet into Ireland, if the Popes ministers had beeene more resolute, or  
had beeene furnished with a more ample commission; but the suffe-  
rance of the soldiers, and the great charge, admitting no delay,  
Rome being so farre off, they agreed not, but the King dismissing  
the Italians, caused the soldiers vpon the way to returne backe, and  
deuided his armie into garrisons.

*The Popes  
offer against  
England.*

Item no. 212 to 215. Excerpt from the original manuscript of the Historie of Portugall, written in Latin by the author. The text discusses the Pope's offer to assist King Philip II of Spain in his conquest of England, mentioning the Pope's desire to keep Portugal in awe and the lack of resolution among the Pope's ministers regarding the use of Spanish forces in Ireland.

## THE EIGHT BOOKE.

The Contents of the eight Booke.

*The soldiers complaints : The Catholique King visites  
the Duchesse of Bragance : The Kings voyage to  
Tomar : The generall pardon : The estates wherein  
they sware fidelitie unto the King, and vnto the  
Prince Diego : The demaunds of the estates : The  
kings entrie into Lisbone : The vnhappy successe of  
Peter de Baldes his men, at the Ilands of Terce-  
raes : Anthonic his departure out of the realme,  
and his arriuall in Fraunce : The arriuall of Lopez  
de Fegueroa at the Ilands, and his returne without  
effect : The preparation of the flands : The estate of  
the affaires of Fraunce, and of the lowe Countries :  
The recompences whiche the King gaue vnto suiters :  
The opinions of the manner of giuing them : The  
enterprise of the Ilands : The preparation to warre  
by King Philip and the French, and the departure  
of their armes at sea towards the Ilands both from  
Fraunce and Portugall.*

**I**n these warres, amidst the cares of the realmes  
disquiet, and imminent perils, *Frauncis de Villa-  
fagna*, doctor of the lawes, and Auditour of the  
Councel royall of Castil, which is the soueraigne  
seate of that realme, came to Lisbone; sent by  
the King with letters vnto the Duke, whereby he  
was commaunded to fauour him in the execution of his commis-  
sion; the which being presently published, containing no other mat-  
ter of importance, but a simple commaundement, with the rest of  
the

the ordinarie officers, to examine the accounts of the armie, and to signe the warrants for payments, it seemed a sleight charge for so great a personage; the which ministred matter of suspect, that vnder so simple a shewe, there was hidden some mysterie of importance; and the generall opinion was, that he came to censure both the armie, and the Duke himselfe: And although the Duke should haue beeene best informed, yet he made no shewe to know it, but fauoured the Doctor, admitting him to the Councell of warre, and to other graue matters, which did not concerne him: The rest of the Captaines & Spanish soldiers, which could lesse dissemble, spake with more libertie, and lesse patience then the Duke; saying it was a new manner of Iustice, neuer heard of; seeing that of necessitie the controuersie must bee betwixt the captaigne generall and his armie; or betwixt the armie and the enimie, nor able to discerne which should be the contrarie parties, for it seemed the soldiers, neither could nor ought to make themselues parties, against their Commaunder, neither ought the enimies to be admitted against a conquering armie. And if so strange a thing shoulde happen, it might likewise be supposed, that the enimie shoulde be declared faithfull, and the armie which had conquered the realme pronounced rebels. They inquired wherein the Duke had offended; if as a Gouvernour, or as a captaigne; for saide they, he coulde not erre as a gouernour, hauing neuer resolued the smallest matter, without the kings aduise, besides that hee had not gouerned aboue two moneths: If as a captaigne; what had lawes to doe with armes, and the militarie stile with the ciuill? But for all this discourse, they did not greatly weigh the Dukes offences, supposing in the ende that his greatness and innocencie shoulde protect him: Their owne priuate interest did most of all trouble them, loosing all hope of recompence for their former seruices, saying, that for this last and notable exploite, they did rather see punishment prepared then rewards: They imagined the king did not well conceiue howe they had conquered him a kingdome in eight and fiftie daies, after the same manner ( to followe their owne phrase ) as the kingdome of heauen is woone, that is to say, in fasting, with bread and water, and without taking from any man; the which they said, being furnished with nothing but bisket, & hauing no libertie to spoile any towne: They could not endure to

*The com-  
plaints of the  
Dukes soldi-  
ers.*

be flaundered by idle courtiers, and bachelors, (for so the soldiers in hate and derision of lawes & iustice, terme the greatest Doctors of the Councell) saying, that those men remained at Badagios to drinke coole in sommer with ice, scorning those that suffered these dangers. They remembred their labours suffred at sea, comming out of Italy; the famine of Spaine; the intolerable heate of Estremadura; the plague of Portugall; the seuere discipline of the Duke, and the gibbets set vp for euery small disorder: they added, that to the end the victorie gotten at Porto shoulde not remaine vnpunished, the King (to speake plainly) had sent another Doctor against

*The auditor  
of Gallicia  
sent to Auila  
camp.*

Sanches d'Aula, and that part of the army which had made an ende, and assured him the realme. And it was true that *Frauncis Tedaldo* Auditour of the seate of iustice, which remaines in Gallicia, was sent thither, who did strictly informe of all manner of excesse imputed either to *Aula* or his soldiers: They saide it was apparent in this courte, howe much, letters were preferred to armes, seeing that all such as followed this action vnaarmed, had wrested from the soldiers the fruites of their labours, and the price of their blouds; seeing the King had satisfied their desires in the greatest measures they coulde wish, not giuing any recompence vnto others; the which they prooved in setting downe particularly, the offices the King had giuen to the Duke of Ossuna and other Embassadors; for they did assure, and it is true, that the greatest in Spaine aspire to no other charge, then to be Viceroy of Naples, whereunto they labour to come by many degrees, and that the King had reserued this for the Duke of Ossuna. As for other Noblemen and Gentlemen, they sought for nothing more then to be of the Kings chamber, which place he had giuen to *Christoper de Mora*, togither with the best offices of the realme of Portugall. They touched likewise the Lawyers which be of the Kings Councell, saying, they coulde not aspire higher then to be of the Councell of the Chamber, the which is a tribunall of three or fower Doctors elected, who determine with the King of pardons, and other matters of grace; and that this office which *Rodorique Vasques* enioied, he had likewise giuen to *Lewes de Molina*, preferring him before his auncients. These speeches with others more inconsiderate, were spred amongst the soldiers, with a soldier-like libertie. And although they erred not much from the

*The Coun-  
cell of the  
Kings cham-  
ber.*

the truth, yet men without passion, iudged that this aggrauating was vniust and slaunderous; being no great maruaile, that a King, who ought to haue regarde to infinite matters the which passed the consideration of priuate men, shoulde giue care to the many complaints that were made against this armie, and force them to their purgation; and that it was not likely that *Villafagna*, or *Tedaldo*, had power to iudge in this case, but onely to examine the truth: That whereas *Villafagna* had in a manner carried his commission secrete, it was an argumente of the Kings respect, and modestie, who sought to proceede with the more mildenes, and without any blemish to the Duke, or his captaines, although it was not reasonable the soldiers shoulde tredre this realme vnder their feete, as the rebellious countrey of Flaundrets, or of a King that were an enimie; or giue vnto the Portugals the odious titles of rebels and disloyal, although they deserued well the name of troublesome and transported subjects, vneasie to yeeld vnto this new yoke. This mutinic continued long, but for as much as the Commissioners did not punish any, nor as I beleue, made any triall, their humours grewe more calme, wherein the wisedome of *Villafagna* preuailed much, togither with the small subiect they founde, when as they came to examine the truth of such complaints, as had beene made to the King.

Now the day appointed by the King, for the assemblie of the States grew neare; but before he shoulde goe to Tomar, the place appointed for their assemblie, he went to visite *Katherine Duchesse of Bragance*, who for that cause was come from *Villauizosa*, to *Vila Boim*, whither he went to her, accompanied with all the chiefe of his Courte; and hauing staid with her halfe a day in great familiarite, he returned to *Eluas*, and from thence departed towards Tomar: He did not there so sodainly dispose of rewards as the Portugals expected; hauing ( as it is saide before ) made a Councell for Portugall, of speciall men, to whom he referred all matters, not admitting the Castilias, to entermeddle with any cause of the realme; no man was heard nor dispatched as he pleased, for the King made no haste, & his ministers were confounded in the quantitie, & qualitie of their requests; not able to resolute in so intricate a busines, so as the care of expedition was delayed; by reason whereof the Portugals saide, that although the King, in his letters, words, and habite, seemed

seemed curteous, & altogether enclined to Portugall, & had promised great rewards; yet in particular (whether it were his fault or any others,) they yet see no recompence. To the Duke of Bragāce who aspired to great matters, as then they gaue nothing, being excessive in his demaunds, he had onely confirmation to be Constable of the realme, they gaue him the order of the golden fleece, and the King faououred him extraordinarily, taking him to traffie with him behinde the curtaine, without any other recompence, which might either breede him profit or power. Before the entrie of the Parliament, the ceremonie of swearing the King was perfourmed, and soone after, of the Prince in the monasterie of religious men of the order of Christ ( a religion which is not any where else ) where he was lodged in the same sorte, as was saide of King *Henry*, but with more poinpe, being in an assemblie of estates, and with lesse noise being done with lesse loue; yet was it woorth the sight, both for the great number of the Nobilitie, and the goodly representation of the King, in his habite of cloth of gold, which *Henry* had not, being a Cardinall. There he graunted the pardon expected with so great desire, the which although it had the name of generall, yet was it helde by the Portugals to be limited artificiall, and conditionall: It

» did pardon generally all such as had beene imploied for the Prior  
 » against him, but particularly he did except many, and namely two  
 » and fiftie, the chiefe wherof was the Prior himselfe, the Counte of  
 » Vimiosa, and the Bishop of Guarda: hee pardoned no religious  
 » man; he made all such as had serued the Prior, receiuied honor from  
 » him, profit, charge, or office whatsoeuer, vncapable euer after to  
 » beare office, or to exercise those they had enioied before; so as they  
 » saide, this pardon serued none but such as had made light faults, or  
 » had nothing to loose. This did much incense the mindes of the Portugals, who found themselues deceiued of the hope they had con-  
 » ceiued by this pardon all to remaine freed; the which although they  
 » much disliked, yet could they not get it refourmed; but soone after  
 » all such were cited by proclamation as were not pardoned, to the  
 » end their processe might be made: The Deputies of the realme be-  
 » ing now assembled, the Estates began the xix. day of Aprill, where  
 » Anthony Pionero Bishop of Leira, made an oration before the king,  
 » saying, First, that the Estates, seeming to haue the assistance of the  
 » holie

*The King  
sworne at  
Tomar, and  
the Prince  
Diego.*

*The kings  
pardon to  
the Portugals.*

*The begin-  
ning of the  
parliament  
at Tomar.*

holic Ghost, by the profit which shoulde redounde to the subiects, " that Philip following the custome of former Kings, had assembled " them, to the end that with wisedome, loue, and fidelitie, they should " represent vnto him, what they thought conuenient for the generall " good of these realmes : He did greatly amplifie the graces done by " his pardon, terming it the fruits of his clemencie, he did shew, it was " a ground of hope of greater good: he concludes, noting the great- " nes of the Kings loue & goodnes, promising to encrease al their ho- " nors, recompences, & fauours conformable to the loialtie and obe- " dience they shoulde carrie to his seruice : Whereunto was briefly " answered by *Damian d'Aguilar* Doctor, one of the Deputies of the citie of Lisbone, saying, That in the cities behalfe, and of the whole realme, he did thanke his Maiestie, both for the grace of his pardon, as for assembling the Estates, offering him obedience : All the Deputies both in generall and particular demaunded what they pleased, to whom they graunted many things, as titles of knighthoode, rents for life, offices, and to some present money : there were eight or tenne of the meanest gentlemen, chosen of the order, and ennobled with such other like things, the which was done rather according to the vse of Castill, then after the manner of Portugall; for in this realme it is not the custome to give any thing to Deputies : He gaue greater recompences to the whole realme in generall, graunting in a manner al those former things mentioned, which the Duke of Ossuna had promised the Gouernors in the Kings name; if the realme shoulde yeelde peaceably ( except it were to the garrisons) libertie to saile to America, and the west Indies, and to participate with the affaires of Castill, as if they were borne there ; saying, that it was conuenient, before hee shoulde graunt them, to impart them to the Estates, being preiudicall vnto them. The Deputies delievered vnto the King a liste of what they demaunded, and aduised " touching the government; whereof the principall were, that the " King shoulde take a Portugall borne to wife; that he shoulde sende " the yoong prince to bee brought vp within the realme: that the *The de-* " States of Portugall shoulde be separate from them of Castill, with *mands of the* " their coine apart; and many things touching the abatement of im- " postes, the displacing of garrisons, the ordering of iustice, and such " like, whereof fewe were graunted at that time of any importance; " and

and to all the rest, they made answeare with doubtfull hopes: The Nobilitie, the greatest part whereof (not hauing borne armes against the King) supposed to haue deserued much, appointed thirtie amongst them to make petition vnto the King, for manie things, in the name of the whole Nobilitie: First, that hee shoulde graunt them iurisdiction ouer their subiects: That such Doctors as had beene imployed in matters of justice shoulde not bee censured but by gentlemen: That the King shoulde make no man noble, but for the good deserts of some notable seruice, and that it shoulde not passe vnto his heires, but vpon speciall grace: That the chiefe offices of the realme, as the chiefe Captaine-ships, the three Purueiors of the Arcinall, the store-house of the Indies, and of the custome house, with such other like, shoulde not bee giuen but vnto Noble men, whereof nothing was graunted. Many did not attribute this refusall of their demaunds vnto the kings owne nature, nor vnto the iniustice of their requests, but most complained of those Portugall fauorites which gouerned.

*Tauching  
the Vniver-  
sities of Co-  
imbra.*

Many were of opinion the King shoulde suppress the Vniuersitie of Coimbra, and thought it necessarie by all reason of state, saying that it was not safe in a realme newly incorporate, to suffer an assemblie of three or fowre thousand yoong men, in a manner exempte from the iurisdiction roiall, the which might wel be called a Seminarie of seditions, and *Anthony* his disciplined soldiers, readie to follow any other naturall rebell of the realme whatsoeuer: That the auoiding of this euill shoulde cause a greate benefite, that the Portugals shoulde go studie in the Vniuersities of Castill, where passing the heate of their youth, and growing familiar with the Castillians, they shoulde returne into Portugall more roially affected, and more sufficient to administer iustice then they were: They alledged moreouer that those lawyers had both by wordes and writings, wilfully opposed themselues against the Kings right, chiefly when as *Henry* was enclined to the Dutchesse of Bragance; that some of them transported with this passion, had in their publike letters wrested against *Philip*, not onely the imperiall lawes, but also the holie canons, interpreting them contrarie to their true sence, and contradicting then selues, and therefore they were woorthie of punishment. But although this opinion seemed grounded and confirmed

confirmed by many Portugals; yet the King either by his bountie, or the assurance of his iustice, or of his absolute authoritie, or else, withhelde by the naturall inclination, hee seemed to beare to the Portugall nation, not onely preserued this Vniuersitie, but also tooke it into his protection, confirming their liberties and priuileges; hee not onely receiued the Doctors which had read and writ against him, with great mildenes, but also with a noble resolution, confirmed them in their lectures, and preferred others to them that were voide.

In the meane time the Pope discouering the Priors weake[n]esse to maintaine Portugall, and that there was no meanes of agreement, hauing called home his Legate, he seemed well content with *Philips* successe, saying, that his onely intention was to auoid wars, so as hauing obtained great rewardes for his sonne or at the least assured hopes, he graunted vnto the king, that *George de Taida* bishop of *Viseu*, who was his first chaplaine, shoulde be iugde without appeale of all causes, concerning the Ecclesiasticall rebels, and of the proces of their confiscacons; so as the Prior, in a manner doomed to sentence of death, with the Bishop of *Guarda* and others, were againe cited by edict, to be deprived by iustice of all spirituall liuings they held within the realme. There was yet no newes of him, notwithstanding the reward promised, and the great care the Castilians vsed through the realme to finde him, yet were they daily lesse certaine, for that disguised in a base habite, hee went vnowne oftentimes amongst those that sought for him. He had intelligence that the Counte of *Vimioso* was come by land into Fraunce, labouring to mooue the French to warre against the Catholique King, promising great succours by the people in the matters of Portugal: By reason whereof, and for the Priors concealement, the King kept in a manner his whole armie dispersed in the fortresses and cities of the realme; and although hee had dismissed the Italians, and sent the greatest part of his galleies into Italy, yet they gaue out, that he after repented, the realme seeming daily lesse peaceable; and that the French in those parts might arme a good number of ships of warre and more conueniently in that sea then the galleies, whereof fowre being in *Algarues*, had taken a French pirate with great slaughter, who being a knight of *Malta* had fought valiantly: By reason

*The Pope  
seemes con-  
tent with the  
successe of  
Portugall.*

*The Portugals animas-  
ted, and  
wherefore.*

reason of these garrisons, of the rigor of officers, of the small recom-  
pence that was giuen them, and of the conceite that the Prior was  
yet within the realme, the Portugals harts beganne to turne, some  
of them assembled at times, lamented the miserie wherein they see-  
med to be, by their not agreeing to defend themselues, or not yeel-  
ding in time; yet the greatest part held opinion that vnted together  
they might haue made resistance. They could not endure, that the  
Castillian officers shoulde intermeddle in matters of iustice as they  
pretended to do; neither was the Portugals disdaine appeased, in say-  
ing, that the King hauing commaunded *John Andrew Doria*, Prince  
of Melsy, to conduct the Empresse his sister into Spaine, whom he  
had caused to come out of Germany, was for no other cause but to  
leau her Gouernesle in Portugall, and so returne into Castill, and  
that as a woman she shoulde raigne with greater mildenes then the  
kings of Portugall had done: for although this was the common  
discourse, yet many helde opinion that the king shoulde not depart,  
being constrained to keepe garrisons, the which he would not dis-  
miss, vntill he were better assured of the Prior, of whom they spake  
diuersly; for some helde, that he was dead, and spoiled by the Casti-  
lians, who for that they woulde yeelde no account of the iewels he  
had about him, kept it secret: Others saide, that he had sent into  
Fraunce, and England, from whence hee expected great armes, at  
whose arriuall, he would discouer himselfe: Many supposed that he  
shoulde keepe himselfe secret within the realme vntill the death of  
*Philip*, who according to their discourse, coulde not liue long; and  
yet was there small difference betwixt their ages, at what time shew-  
ing himselfe as hee did vpon the death of king *Henry*, hee shoulde  
againe take possession of the realme, the kingdomes of Castill re-  
maining in the handes of pupilles. And although some beleueed  
that he was departed the realme, yet the greatest part helde that he  
was there yet; labouring to escape as couertly as he coulde, fearing  
to be taken prisoner, the which was true indeede, as it appeared by  
some of his friends that were taken in the porte of Lisbone, who  
sought to imbarke with some prouision of victuals they had made,  
who confessed vpon the racke, that he was in the realme, amongst  
which was *Peter d'Alpoë* Doctor of the lawes, who since for that  
cause and others of high treason lost his head at Lisbone.

The

The Estates were now ended, and the king desirous to goe to Lisbone, but for that the preparations, and triumphs which the citie pretended, were not yet ready, he went to Almada, which is directly against the citie, vpon the other banke of Tagus, to giue them time to finish their preparations: At what time the King hauing intelligence that those of the Ilands of Terceraes, notwithstanding the letters which *Ambrose d'Aguiar*, had carried stode firme in their first resolution of defence, hee sent *Peter Baldes* with fower ships, sixe hundred Spanish foote, and some cannon, with commandement to assure himselfe fully of the Iland of Saint Michaell, which was obediēt; to spoile the ships which should come from the Indies, & not to attēpt any thing by land vntill he had sent a greater supply of men. The Court was ill appointed at Almada, and the needfull ministers for dispatches, could not all bee lodged there. The King desirous to enter the citie, would not attende after Saint Peters day, when passing the water with his galleies, he laded in the city, vpon a bridge of wood, framed for that purpose, without giuing them time to finish their arches, & statues prepared for his entry: But the sloth and ignorance of the workemen was in parte cause, yet did they make a sumptuous preparation: Vpon the bridge he was met by the Magistrate of the chamber, where Doctor *Hector de Pyna*, one of them, spake thus in the behalfe of the citie, shewing the ioy they had conceiuēd of his entrie: That as this citie was the greatest in the worlde, so God had deseruedly giuen them conformeable to their owne desires, a great monarch to bee their Lorde: Hee excused the people saying, That if they had no sooner obeied, it was done rather by errour, then their owne free will; and that remaining in their owne power to choose a king, they woulde haue made election of no other then himselfe. And touching the death of *Ferrant de Pyna*, hee saide that this citie had first of all shedde bloude for his seruice, seeing that the saide *Ferrant* when as *Anthony* caused him to bee wounded, was a member of this Magistrate: He excused likewise the sleightnes of their ioyes, by the afflictions of the warre, the spoile of the citie, and the plague, remembred their losses of Africke; concluding that they hoped by his Maiesties fauours, this realme shoulde not bee saide vnto Castill, but that all the other realmes were ioyned vnto Portugall.

*The Kings  
entrie to  
Lisbone.*

*The speech  
of the Ma-  
gistrate of  
Lisbone to  
the king.*

Hee then went on horsebacke vnder a canopic of cloth of golde, vnto the Cathedrall church , the streetes being richly hanged, were full of people, who made shewe of great ioy for the Kings arriuall, where hauing done his deuotion, hee went in the same sort ynto the pallace, accompanied with all the nobilitie on foote.

„ This realme within the space of two yeeres, had (as a man may say) „ ffeue kings, a thing seldome or neuer happened in any other place, „ and it seemed that God in so short a time had thus altered the state „ of things for the peoples punishment, for all of them wasted their „ poore subiects : *Sebastian* by his rashnes; *Henry* by his irresolution; „ the gouernours by feare, and their priuate interest ; *Anthonie* by „ tyrannie, and *Philip* by armes. But when all was in a manner quiet, he entred this citie, the proper seate of their kings : It was supposed, the sorrowes and troubles passed, shoulde now be conuerted into ioy and quietnes; but for that it is an equall punishment to a people, either to haue tyrants ruling by force, or to make a bad election of gouernours : The Portugals were scourged with this last rod, desiring rather to be commanded by *Anthonie*, being of so small might, and with all other disgraces that proceeded from him ; then by the great power of *Philip*, impatient to see him so slacke, in deuiding amongst them the dignities, cominaunderies, and reuenues of the crowne ; whereby they grew out of hope euer to draw such recompences from the Court of Castill, as they had vsually drawnen from that of Portugal. And although he had giuen vnto *Frauncis de Sada*, sometimes gouernour, the title of Earle of Matosignos, to *Ferrant de Norrigia* that of Lignares, which his father enjoyed, made as it is said, *Christopher de Mora* one of his chamber, and established *Peter d'Alcasoua* in his office of Chamberlaine, contrarie to the decree of king *Henry*, wherein although the king of himselfe were well inclined, and resolued to dispatch euery one, with greater liberalitie, then the kings of Portugall had euer done ; yet this distribution according to the new decree, appertaining to the Councell of state of Portugall, wherein as it is said, their opinions being diuerse, and the respects of hatred and loue, diuers, nothing was resolued, and the abundance of petitions caused these delaies, for that euerie one either iustly or without cause, demaunded recompence, so as the whole realme did not seeme sufficient to content them : the which being

*The Portugals discon-*  
*tented.*

being ill considered by many, they said he would stay from giuing vntill he were assured of the llands, and of *Anthonies* person. But *The councell of state of Portugall reduced vnto two.* the king finding, that these difficulties, and the slacknes in proceeing, grew by the excessiue number of Counsellors, resolued (according to the custome of former kings) to referre the dispatch of such as demaunded recompence, vnto two persons alone, the which were *An: hony Pignero*, Bishop of Leiria and to *Christopher de Mora:* It may be seeming vnto him, that these two amongst the other officers were most free from all priuate respects, the Bishop for that he was neere his graue, by reason of his age, and infirmite, although of a sounde iudgement, and without kinsemen; and *Mora* being a creature of the kings, bredde in Castill, and helde for vertuous, and fearing God.

The estate of the Terceraes grew daily worse, with whom all trafficke was interdict, there was newes that this people being verie obstinate, called in forraine succours, resoluing in no sort to obey *Philip:* They vnderstood that *Peter Baldes* was arriued, and that the Kings letters with the rewarde he had carried for that nation, were not receiued but contemned: By reason whereof, the King desirous to subdue them, before the ende of this sommer, and iudging the enterprise easie, for that they had no trained soldiers, armed certaine shippes, and furnished them with soldiers vnder the conduct of *Lopo de Figueroa*, who staied not long before he departed with commission to attempt with *Baldes* to become master of the llands: *Baldes* lay nowe about the llands, expecting the Indian fleete, his marriners had often both by day and night landed with their boates to steale grapes which were then ripe, & drawing sometimes neere the rockes, vpon the which the Portugals had planted behinde a small rampire three or fower iron peeces, they parlied often with them; the one not fearing the other: *Peter de Baldes* finding the Portugals carelesnes, and being aduertised that some within the llands(amongst a great multitude) were well affected to the Catholique king; had often resolued to sende some men on lande, to the end that such as followed the kings partie, who were saide to lie in the mountaines, night ioine with them, and altogether set vpon the citie of Angra, or at the least so fortifie themselues at land, as they shoulde not be repulsed: But for as much as this resolution, with so

small a troupe was dangerous, and against the Kings commission, the which knowing well he did not execute; yet hauing intelligence that *Lopo de Figueroa* was to be sent from Lisbone, to vndertake this enterprise with a great number of men, who being arriued, hee shoulde be commaunded to obey, he did confidently beleue that at his comming, either by loue or by force, he woulde be master of this Iland, and winne that honour whereunto he aspired. So as such force hath the desire of honour,) hauing ill measured his forces, & against the Kings commaundement, he made haste rashly to trie, whether the resolution which hee had formerly concieued woulde succeed well, whereunto he was likewise perswaded by some of the Iland, who as vnskilfull, had their wils more ready then their power: So as earely on Saint James his day in the morning, hauing shipp'd in a manner all his soldiers in their boates, hee sent them to lande, whereas the marriners had beene accustomed to go, betwixt Angra and Praia, the which they call the house of Salga, where hauing founde small or no resistance, they landed easily, and the Portugals who had the guarde of this artillerie, fearefully fledde away. The Castillians being now become masters thereof, began to builde a small rampier of stone, to the ende they might holde a more firme footing on lande, and retire such as followed the Catholique kings partie; but they had no time, for the inhabitants of Angra, hearing the Castillians were landed, had giuen the allarum by bels and other great noise, so as many of their stoutest issued foorth to skirmish; and although they did no matter of importance, many returning terrifid or hurte, yet did they keepe the enimie from fortifying; who remaining in that place from the morning vntill afternoon, there went not any one Portugall vnto them; for although there were some disposed thereunto, yet durst they not, distrusting both the one and the other; being chiefly terrifid by the example

*The prepara-  
tion of  
them of An-  
gra against  
Baldes.*

*John de Be-  
tancour af-  
fected to the  
King.*

of *John de Betancour*, one of the principals of that place, who hauing conspired with aboue a hundredth citizens, vpon a certaine day to runne armed through the citie, and proclaine King Philip, he supposed with his authoritie, and the followers he expected, to mooue the people, against *Ciprian de Feguredo*, and make himselfe Lorde of the Iland in the Kings name: But hauing not duely examined the judgement, valour, and constancie of such as he had chosen for his compa-

companions (things necessarily required in them that are to execute matters of such importance) being deceived he did not effect this enterprise; for although he had many friends and copartners with him, being at the howre appointed come vnto the place, calling the rest, and proclaiming the kings name, he was not followed of any man, but was inuironed by the people and beaten, outraged, in danger to be hanged, and therefore no man durst stirre. In this space the number of Portugals, which the Gouernour had assembled to goe against the enimie, was little lesse then two thousand, who treating in what manner they shoulde issue foorth, they left not to consider, that although the Castillians were fewer in number, yet were they more experienced, and better armed; A religious man of the order of Saint Augustine (for here as well as in other parts of the realme, religious men deale in matters of warre) advised that before their men, they shoulde drive a number of oxen, and chase them with all force against the Castillians, the which being put in practise, was the safetie of the Portugals, and the defeating of their enimies; for that raising a great dust, they were not discouered by the Castillians; they defended them from their shotte, and disordred the enimie: for the Castillians hauing by their long skirmish with some of the citie, spent their shotte and powder, being now charged by so many, they thought to retire themselues to their boates, and so to imbank, which they resolued too late: For that the Portugals approaching neere, couered, & in safetie, hauing the oxen as a rampire, they draue them against the enimie with such violence, that they were forced to disbande, and to quite them the place; at what time being charged by the Portugals with fewe shot, and many launces, they fought a while with disadvantage: For the Portugals being many in number, the Castillians coulde make no great resistance; besides that, being minded to save themselues by their boates, they retired towards the sea; the which being then rougher then when they landed, their boates coulde not come neere the shoare, and the marriners which were in them were likewise fearefull to approch, for that the Portugals shotte at them from lande; so as the soldiers to save themselues, waded vp to the necke in water, and yet hardly could get to their boates, suffering the punishment of their rashnes; for the enimy seeing them now flie without resistance,

*A strategem with  
oxen made  
by a religi-  
ous man.*

*The ill suc-  
cess of Bal-  
des soldiers.*

fell to killing, without pardoning of any, and not onely followed them vnto the water, but made anende of such as being already entred, the sea had cast vp againe to shoare halfe dead, not hearing

*The crueltie  
of those of  
Tercera.*

any that cried for mercy : But the Portugals being nowe growen inexorable, not onely slew the soldiers, but pages and vallets, so as there died aboue fower hundred, and not thirtie Portugals, (whereof some of them were but hurt) in this action; hatred preuailed more then any other respect, for hauing reserved onely two aliue, which termed themselues Portugals, the extraordinarie rage of these men shewed it selfe, who grieued with those few that were sauad, turned with crueltie to mangle the dead bodies ; for cutting them in peeces, one caried a head in triumph, one, one member, another, another, dragging whole bodies through the streetes with a thousand indignities. The day following, there remained not within the citie, childe, man, nor religious person(except the Iesuits) that went not to the campe to see the slaughter of the eniimies, with instruments and dauncing, taking pleasure to cut and mangle these insensible bodies ; and some affirme, that there were of them, who tearing out the harts of the dead, woulde feede vpon them. The Gouernour hauing put the armes of the dead men into wagons, and drawing their colours after him, entred the citie with great ioy of the people: *Baldes* hauing hitherto beene a better marriner, then he seemed now a soldier, founde by this vnhappy euent, with how much more iudgement, he shoulde haue vndertaken this action : but as one mischefe is followed by many, griefe did so blinde his vnderstanding, as hee coulde not succour his soldiers as easilic he might, and giue them meanes to retire to their ships, if drawing neerer to lande hee had discharged his artillerie against the Portugals, who were the first that gaue the name of bloudie vnto this warre.

*The defete  
of Baldes is  
preindiciall  
vnto the  
king.*

This important effect, did greatly priudice the Catholique kings affaires, for this nation being growen more cruell and more rebellious, founde there was no hope of agreement, nor remission, whereby the King (who liued in some hope they woulde be reclaimed) grewe nowe wholie desperate by this vnhappy successe : and the rather, for that searching the Prior throughout the realme, they had intelligence by letters from Flaunders, that hee was arriued in England,

England, from whence hee shoulde go into Fraunce to demaund succours, vnderstanding also that there was hope hee shoulde obtaine them: By reason whereof, they did fortifie the seacoast of Portugall, and especially the rocke of Saint Iulian: And although this storme seemed yet farre off, yet they regarded it the more, for that the king was vnfurnished of men, and the people generally of the realme, little inclined to his deuotion; so as it seemed, if the Prior woulde againe hazard his fortune, that at the onely sight of his colours, the people woulde take armes: There was no restraint could hold them, seeing the Italians had beeene discharged, the Germanes and Spaniards, whereof many being dead, and many growing rich, fledde away; there remained in all not aboue fower or fife thousand, whereof one thousand was alreadie imploied with *Lopo de Figueroa*, who was sent vnto the llands: for although there were fifteene hundred appointed, yet the Germanes went vnwillinglie; and for as much as the ships after their departure, which was in July, returned more then once backe, by reason of the contrarie windes, many of them stole away, not returning to the armie, the which greatly diminished their number: the rest were deuided into garrissons, in the Prouince of Doro and Mynio, and other places; so as there remained scant a thousand men within Lisbone, which seemed a small guard for so great a citie. This departure of *Anthony The Prior* was in truth strange, and it seemed both in this & other like things, <sup>good for</sup> *Iune*.  
that hee was either happie, or had an extraordinarie gift of nature:  
For remaining captiue in Affricke, after that vnfortunate battaile of *Sebastian*, he was the first of so many prisoners that was freed, being likely for the qualitie of his person, to haue beeene the last: but he coulde so well hide himselfe, and conceale what he was, that he was deliuered without discouerie: And eu'en when as he departed from Viana in October 1580. vntill Iune, 1581. he remained still within the realme so secretly, as he was neuer discouered, the which is the more woorthie of admiration; for that the diligence the King vsed to finde him out was admirable, for all Judges, all Captaines, and all soldiers, were carefully imploied: And although they had sometimes aduertisement of the place of his aboad, and did follow him in a manner by his foote, yet could they neuer finde him. *Jerom Mendosa* with the help of *Emanuel of Portugal* (in whom it was like-

*Item Mendoza trea-  
teth an a-  
greement  
with the  
Prior.*

lie that Anthony should trust) treating an agreement laboured much to speake with him: But although some of his familiar friends came vnto him somtimes at Alanquer, sonetimes at Vidigueira, with hope they shoulde meete, yet did hee neuer discouer himselfe vnto them; but the sleight execution of the punishment inflicted vpon such as did cōceale him, did greatly preiudice their search; for many therby did boldly receiue him. The Duke of Alua his officers, in the end of Lent, had like to haue surprised him in Lisbon, where the Duke had so many spies, & corrupted so many of his friends, that it seemed vn-doubtedly he shoulde fall into his hands: but when as with greatest heate he shoulde haue pursued it, he grew cold. For vnderstanding that the king helde some regard of *Mendoza* his practise, who with doubtfull hopes gaue him to vnderstande, that the weeke before Easter the Prior woulde cast himselfe at the Kings feete, hee feared to amaze him, but the said *Mendoza* laboured in vaine: For as it hap-  
 » pens to him that feares *Anthony* distrusting all men, performed no-  
 » thing of what he promised; neither went hee to any person where  
 » hee had appointed, so as there neither followed the effect that was  
 » expected, but they lost all hope to do any good: Yet was it apparant  
 that the affection which this nation bare vnto him was of great  
 » force, for although that fortune preuailed in many more then  
 » faith, yet in his afflictions, and hauing so great an imposition laide  
 » vpon his person, there was neuer any one amongit so many, in  
 » whom he must of necessitie trust, that euer sought to betraie him  
 for hope of recompence; although some laboured to saue them-  
 selues, amongst which was *Edward de Castro*. And therefore hee  
 went safely throughout all the portes of the sea, he was at Lisbone as  
 it is saide, where the king himselfe remained, not finding meanes to  
 imbarke; some of his men being surprised, hee went to Settuual,  
 where by the helpe of a woman, hee hired a Flemmish ship for sixe  
 hundred crownes, with the helpe of a religious man, of the order  
 of Saint Frauncis, and with tenne of his fafhullest seruants, he im-  
 barked by night, and so went to Caleis, where wee may truely saie,  
 that God had not yet withdrawne his hand frō punishing of this na-  
 tion, and that this was as a scourge; for by reason of the affection this  
 people bare vnto him, it was necessarie to keepe this people in awe  
 with garrisons, to the great hurt and ruine of the subiects.

*Anthony  
arrives at  
Caleis.*

Now

Now was come the yeare 1581. at what time they expected the ships from the Indies, Brasil, Saint Thomas, Cape Vert, & all other new found landes, the which staied somewhat long, and put them in some feare, being looked for with greater desire, then euer anie were: Some feared they woulde not come, others wished they shoulde come, many helde opinion they shoulde willingly staie at the Terceres, and from thence go into England, the which if they should not willingly yeeld vnto, touching vnauidedly at the Ilands, they shoulde bee forced thereunto by the Ilanders. They were wished for, both for the riches they carried, as to vnderstande by them howe the people of those parts were addicted to the obedience of the Catholique king, whereof many doubted: Such as helde opinion they shoulde safely arrive at Lisbone, saide, that the Indies and other prouinces coulde not maintaine themselues without Spaine, and shoulde bee forced to yeelde obedience to whome soever that shoulde be Lorde of Portugall: that they needed not feare the Terceres, although they had spoiled some ships which they had taken, or that had anchored there of their owne free will; yet now the Castillian armie being master at sea, vpon their discouerie they woulde conduct them to Lisbone, not suffring them to approch the lande: Such as supposed they woulde not come, saide, that the saide ships were departed from Lisbone in the yeere 1580. after King *Henryes* death, during the Gouvernours raigne, and that *Lewes de Taide* Earle of Toghia, Viceroy of the Indies, knowing there was a space-gouvernement, with likelihood of warre, woulde attende the euent without yeelding obedience to any, for that he woulde then shew it when he had intelligence, who were king, to be the more acceptable vnto him, or hoping that amidst these tumults, there woulde something remaine to his share: But if notwithstanding he were resoluued to sende them, hee woulde appoint a captaine of his owne making, and conformeable to his owne will, with commissiōn to obey him to whom he were most affected, and that it were hard to iudge whom he wished most to be King: besides that *Emmanuel de Melo* being captaine Generall of the same armie when it departed from Portugall, being a devoted seruant to the Prior, and had made shew to be of his faction, it was likely that if he returned, & had any intelligēce of the Priors being in England, the which he might

*The Indian  
fleets expec-  
ted, and the  
discourse of  
their arri-  
val.*

might easily vnderstande at the llands, that he woulde saile thither, the which if he coulde not performe in the same ships , hee woulde then lande in the llands, and after saile in other boats, whether hee pleased with hope of gaine and bootie : And although it were true that the Indians coulde not maintaine themselues, yet Fraunce and England might more abundantly furnish them , and with greater profite then Portugall. But for as much as in discoursing of matters which depends vpon an others will, we cannot cōsider al causes of their errors, a matter priuate to the diuine knowledge , it fell out in an other manner then had beeene discoursed: For the Earle Vice-roy of the Indies, hauing by the same ships receiued letters from the Catholique King, who enformed him of the equitie of his cause, and of his intent, with large promises, whereunto (and by the meanes of others which he receiued from the gouernors) he gaue credite, preferring them before such as he had receiued from *Anthonly*, resolute to obey the King; so as the ships departed, and being arriued neere to the Terceres , they came sailing without euer discouering of the kings armie ; for that *Baldes* discouraged with his ill successe at the llands could find no fit place to encounter the. True it is, that after they had remained a whole day amongst those llands , they were encountred by a French Barke sent from the Terceres, who entreated the Captaines to go to Angra: The Portugals demaunded the state of the realme, that they might thereby know howe to gouerne themselues, but for that there were none but marriners, they coulde neither perswade, dissensible, nor speake the truth; but contradicting themselues, those of the fleete coulde drawe nothing from them, but was confused : For one saide that the Catholique king was master of the realme, an other, but onely of a great parte of it; and that *Anthony* with a great armie made warre to expell him, whereby there grew some controuersie in the fleete : For some (especially such as had little to loose ) woulde lande in the lland; others woulde haue them hold togither vntill they had certaine intelligence of the state of the realme; others without expecting any further information, woulde haue them go to Lisbone, and yeeld themselues to him that were king. The Capitaine generall being retired into his chamber to parley with certaine Portugals and French men, entertained them with these practizes; but the marriners doubtful of some euill,

*The Indian  
fleete met  
with a  
French ship  
neere the  
Terceres.*

the

the rumor being appeased, directed their course towards Lisbone, where remained their wiues and children, although some opposed themselues. It seemed that these ships being of such importance to the Prior and his disseines, he shold haue vsed more care to intercept them, then it seemed hee did; but in truth he omitted no diligence, for he wrote vnto the Captaine generall of the armie, that at his arriuall at the Ilands, they shold be deliuered vnto him, where by he entreated him with large promises to remaine there, and to consigne him his armie, and not to the Catholique King. But the too great diligence of the Gouvernour, as it often hapneth, did him harme, for hauing sent soorth a Barke with these letters, to attende the ships, they did not encounter them, so as sayling towards Portugall, vpon the mid way, they met with the armie of *Lopo de Figue-roa*, who woondring at the negligence of *Baldes*, whom they denied to haue scene, he furnished them with water and other refreshings: They arriued after at Lisbone, to the great contentment of the king, and yet they staied so long vpon the way, that it was constantly beleeuued they were gone into England, and nowe the merchants began to assure their goods with the losse of the fift, and the Cap-taine was extraordinarilie faoured by the King.

In this while *Lopo de Figue-roa* arriued at the Terceres, where he vnderstands of *Baldes* his misfortune, hauing viewed the Iland for-tified on all parts where he might descend, and by nature vnacces-sible, finding himselfe to haue fewe men, the enimie victorious, and the season of the yeere farre aduanced, the seas swelling betimes in those parts, he resolued (and with iudgement) to returne to Portu-gall, without attempting any thing by force. Hee first sent one to aduise the citie of Angra, to yeelde obedience vnto his Maiestie, promising them pardons, recompences, and many faours, but they measuring the assurance of his promises, not by the Kings clemen-cie, but by their owne merits, arrogantly made him answere, that he shold say in what part hee woulde descend, and they would open him the passage; by reason whereof *Figue-roa* returned into Portu-gall, with *Baldes*, whom the King presently committed to prison; yet he was after deliuered, shewing the instructions that had beeene giuen him, to be doubtfull, and not to prohibite him to fight. This returne of the armie encouraged the Ilanders, perswading them-selues

*The dili-*  
*gence of*  
*Anthony to*  
*haue the*  
*fleete.*

*The fleete*  
*arrives at*  
*Lisbone.*

*The arriuall*  
*of Figue-roa*  
*at the Ter-*  
*ceres, and his*  
*returne to*  
*Lisbone.*

*Baldes im-*  
*prisoned in*  
*Portugall.*

selues, that *Figueroa* had greater forces, then indeed hee had, and seeing him fearefull to descend, they supposed he made great reckoning of theirs. They wrote the newes of all these things vnto the Prior being in Fraunce, who thanked them with curteous letters, and sent them artillerie, harquebusies, powder, and other munition, promising to furnish them with men : Hee commaunded them to seaze vpon the goods of all such as arriued there, being subiect to the Catholique king, and send them into Fraunce, so as they sent him all the merchandise which they had taken in fower or fve ships come from the west Indies. And for as much as it seemed to many, that this could not continue, that the King should send from Portugall a great armie against them, so as they shoulde not bee able to make resistance, they dispatched into Fraunce one *Anthony Aluarez*, and an other base officer, to vnderstande what the Prior did, what forces he had, and what they might expect from thence, who being returned with the orders, the one of Saint Iaques, the other of *d'Auis* which the Prior had giuen them, they reported, at his entreatie, that he had a great armie readie to descend into Portugall, the which in truth was not so, bringing letters to the Gouvernor, whereby the Prior gaue vnto them likewise a coller of the order, with a thousand duckats of reunew, the which mooued some others to go into Fraunce, from whence, as also from England, there came some fewe soldiers to the Iland in ships which sailed into those parts, yet they were neuer three hundred in number, being often of opinion to sende them backe, for that the winter was at hand, and to cal them backe in sommer, the which the people would not yeeld vnto, saying, that since the King had sent them, they woulde entertaine them. The Jesuits being walled vp within their monasterie, to whom they gaue meate but twice a weeke, greeuing to be thus wrongfully imprisoned, vpon a certaine day they opened the doores of the Church, and having placed the sacrament in the midst, they would trie by this meanes, if they might remaine free: The ministers of iustice went vnto the couent, to demaund the reason of this innouation, to whom it was propounded by the fathers, that if their offences so required, they shoulde punish them, but holding them as suspect, they shoulde suffer them to depart into Portugall. The resolution was ( after some speeches vsed beyond the termes of modesty) that

The preparation  
of them of Ter-  
ceres.

the

the fathers shoulde be walled vp againe , and a certaine person who said that in iustice they shoulde burne these priests, with their mona-  
sterie, the which they had deserued for the affection they bare vnto  
the Castillians; he staied not long to acknowledge his error, for de-  
parting from thence, he fell sicke vnto the death, and God woulde  
haue him confess (as he saide) that this griefe hapned vnto him for  
that occasion : All the other religious men did what they coulde to  
wrong these fathers, who being of a contrarie opinion , and practi-  
sing profession of war, could not endure that these shoulde be Castil-  
lians in their harts, refusing to enioy that libertie : They imprisoned  
the Vicar , who gouerneth the spiritualtie in the Bilhops name ,  
which remaineth in the Iland of Saint Michael, and chose an other  
after their owne humour. These things did much displease the Ca-  
tholique king, whereupon he resolued to vndertake this enterprise  
the sommer following, although hee doubted it for many causes,  
which behoued him to prouide for, togither with the new iealousies  
which grew, hauing intelligence that the Turke prepared an ar-  
mie at sea, to send to endamage Christendome. That *Lucciali* a fa-  
mous pirat, and Captaine generall of the Turkes armie, was come  
from Constantinople to Alger with threescore and tenne galleies ,  
and although it were to no other end, then to visite the state of Af-  
fricke, and to prouide for it, fearing that the king of Spaine, by rea-  
son of the newe Acquisition of Portugall, and the warres wherein  
the Turks were busied against the King of Persia, might trouble this  
prouince ; yet he ministred matter of suspect , for the Catholique  
King hauing treated with the Cherriffe to yeeld vnto him Alarache  
in exchange of Mazagon, and not agreeing, for that the Moores  
are great deceiuers in their promises : It was suspected the Turke  
vnderstanding this practise, had sent *Lucciali* to divert this ex-  
change, to fortifie Alarache, and to furnish it with Turkes ; so as be-  
ing so neere neighbour vnto Spaine, and a conuenient port for gal-  
liees , it might greatly annoy him : But hee returned after to Con-  
stantinople , being called backe at the pursuite of his competi-  
tors.

The State of Flaunders ministred matter of consideration, for  
although the Prince of Orenge had long enjoyed the greatest part  
of those prouinces, yet the king had great hope, especially now vp-

*A miraclle  
performed  
by the Is-  
tuets.*

*The estate  
of Franche  
and Flau-  
ders.*

on the conquest of Portugall, that this people woulde be aduised, and that one day he shoulde reclaime them ; but this hope soone failed, for that *Frauncis de Valois Duke of Alançon*, brother to the most christian King *Henry the thirde*, being entred with armes into Flaunders, and hauing succoured them that were in Cambrey, he forted the Prince of Parma Captaine generall for the king (being at the siege thereof) to retire : And although being master of the citie, he presently returned, yet the state of Fraunce seemed troublesome and readie to attempt some newe and important alteration; the rather, for that the French were animated by *Anthony Prior of Crato*, who was come thither out of England, being embrased by the Queene mother of Fraunce, and visited by the whole Courte. They had intelligence likewise of a practise which displeased them, that the saide Duke of Alançon shoulde marrie with *Elizabeth Queene of England*, and for that he had passed and repassed aboue once into that Iland , it was giuen out the marriage was secretly cōcluded, but whether it were so or otherwise, the death of the said Duke of Alançon ended that combination ; but men of the greatest iudgement, beleueed that her Maesticie of England was not married to the saide Duke, because she had refused so many great Kings and Princes in former times, and had liued with the reputation of a most chaste, & vertuous Princesse. The Catholique king complained to the most Christian king, that he had receiuied the Prior his rebell into Fraunce ; of the succours giuen to Cambrey , and blanied the marriage with England, labouring to diuert it all he coulde, saying, that he ought by no meanes to yeelde vnto it, for the difference of religion. The King of Fraunce, as they said, made answere to these propositions by his Embassador: That as for the marriage, he left it to the Duke, who was thereunto inclined, with all the Nobilitie in Fraunce, and that hee was not master of their wils: That the Prior had beeene receiuied by the Queene mother, who being Queene (as she beleueed ) of that realme, had receiuied this her vassall: That he had opposed himselfe to his brother, touching the succours of Cambrey , but his admonitions were of no credite ! This answere confirmed the Catholique king in the opinion hee had conceiued, that these expeditiōns which had beeene made in the name of Alançon , were all lets proceeding from the King, and couered with

with this maske, seeming impossible that the Duke (contrary to the Kings will and pleasure) shoulde raise so great forces in Fraunce. The which although it seemed incredible, yet Fraunce had continued long in such an estate, that it was no maruaile, for that King *Henry* and his predecessor *Charles* the ninth, hauing beene molested by their subiects vpon the points of religion, all was in disorder; and although the state seemed somewhat better pacified, yet their mindes, by the meanes of these former troubles, remained still enclined vnto warre: And for as much as Fraunce, Englande, and Flaunders, did somewhat assist in these matters of Portugall, for the better vnderstanding of things that follow, it may be lawfull for me to digresse a little to speake some thing of these countries.

In Fraunce liued *Katherine de Medicy*, mother to the king, whose age and valour all Fraunce obeied: she seemed to be discontented with the Catholique king for diuers respects, but that she made most shewe of, was, that he had taken the realme of Portugall by force, refusing to submit himselfe to iustice, saying, that she had more interest then hee; whereupon it was supposed, that (mooued with this disdaine) she shoulde labour to make warre against Portugall: with whom agreed the said Duke of Aláçon her son, no lesse enemy to the Catholique King then the mother, mooued thereunto, for that haing demaunded one of the daughters of the saide King in marriage, he was refused, for that he required with his wife, a portion fitte for her qualitie: He was followed by the whole Nobilitie of Fraunce, whom he might easly lead where he pleased; although it were against the Kings liking, the which grewe, for that remaining the third sonne to *Henry* the second, with small hope ever to aspire vnto the crowne, hauing two brothers *Charles* and *Henry* his elders, hauing a great minde and stirring, he gaue care to al such as discontented with the king, or desirous of innouation (whereof there are numbers in Fraunce) laboured to alter the quiet of Christendome, with whom he had often resolued to conquer himselfe some newe estate out of Fraunce. Perswaded to this resolution by such as were about him, he supposed for a time, that his brothers were opposite vnto him, and that by no mearies they woulde like of his greatness: so as that which was giuen him by the wisket for good counsell, he did interprete to the ill affection they bare him; and that they  
A a 2  
sought

The  
Queen of  
Fraunce dis-  
contented  
with Philip,  
and the  
cause.

sought to obscure the glorie whereunto he aspired: And this iealousie encreased when as his brother *Henry* was called to the crowne of Poland, by not giuing him presently such places as hee enioied in Fraunce. By this and such like, those which followed him, tooke an occasion to settle in his conceite, a hatred against his brethren, giuing him to vnderstande, that they detested his greatnes, the which they could so wel effect, that although the said *Henry* did afterwards come, by the death of *Charles* the ninth, from the crown of Poland to that of Fraunce; yet the Duke continued still his first desires, and that with greater traine then before: For some considered that *Henry* being sickly, and without children, he shoulde one day be king: It was therefore no woonder, if without the kings consent, yea contrary to his liking, he attempted many things, although there were some shewe, that the king his brother had intelligence with him. And although his forces, ioyned with the Queene Mothers, were of importance, & might well cause the Catholique king to feare, yet it seemed, that those of England woulde likewise ioyn with him: For it was giuen out, that *Elizabeth* doubting the Kings force, and knowing the Popes intention against her, hauing seene the proose thereof in the affaires of Ireland, sought to secure hirselfe, that they might not wrong her, and to that end she entred into an agreement (as it was said) with the Queene and her yoongest sonne, to the priudice of *Philip*, whereof the effect was soone seen.

*The Duke  
of Alanson  
sivorn Duke  
of Brabant.*

The saide *Alanson* being returned againe into England, being alreadie agreed with the Prince of Orenge, who was the instrument of all these practizes, he passed from thence to Antwerpe, where the peoples humours being before disposed by the saide Prince, he was receiued in all these places with great ioy; and the xix. day of Februarie, in the yeere of our Lord 1582. they did sweare him Duke of Brabant, the which caused a generall admiration for many reasons: It seemed strange, that the Prince of Orenge, in a manner absolute Lord in those countries, the which he had so long defended, woulde vpon the end of the worke spoile himself of the state, & give it vnto a stranger, without constraint, without profit, & to the priudice of his honor: And althoough it seemed he had done the like to *Mathias* Arch Duke of Austria, & afterwards sent him back into Germany, it was not crediblie that he hoped euer to do so vnto the Duke; for besides

sides that he was entred in a manner by maine force; his power, the neernes of Fraunce, & the fauor of England, might wel induce men to beleue that he woulde so establish himselfe, as he need not feare to be expelled. There wanted not such as woulde excuse the Prince, saying, that the people were nowe wearie, and vnfurnished of money, by reason of so great warres, that they coulde not relieue him as hee had neede; and therefore it behoued him to seeke some one that shoulde aide him against the Catholique king, who hauing now recovered the realme of Portugall, shoulde bee able with greater ease to molest those countries, & seeing that he was forced to seeke for succours, there was no greater person then this, making in a manner an invincible vnioun of these estates with Fraunce and England; besides, the Prince shoulde attaine to the wished ende, which wasto deprive the Catholique king of the whole possession, and many did so much relie vpon the Princes foresight and iudgement, that they supposed hee woulde likewise expell Alançon when hee pleased. Many blamed the manner of the Dukes proceeding, who sought to vsurpe an others patrimonie without any title: others excused him, forging lawes of state after their owne humours, saying, that the priuileges of the countrey did allow, that if the Catholique King did not obserue them, they might choose a Prince of themselves, the whiche the King hauing broken, they had sought out another Lorde. The effect of the league was not yet ended in those parts, but to diuert the Catholique King from making warre in those countries, at the mediation of Anthony to trouble the state of Portugal, they prepared a great armie in Fraunce: Some said it was to be imploied against the same realme, hoping the people woulde rise against the Castillians: some supposed it shoulde be sent to succour the Terceraes, the winning whereof, Philip threatened to attempt; and some beleueed that they went for no other intent, but to surprise certaine ships that came from the newe nauigations, charged with golde and spice. There hapned at that time in Flaunderes, a matter of admiration and seldom scene: For the Prince of Oringe being in Antwerpe, quiet, and in the greatest fortune that he was euer, was shot in his house, rising from his table, in the midst of all his seruants, with a pistoll, by Iohn Scaurigni, a yoong man, a Biscaine, moued thereunto by zeale of religion, as he pretended:

Preparati-  
ons of the  
français  
against the  
Terceraes.

The Prince  
of Oringe  
wounded by  
a Biscaine.

the bullet hitting him vnder his right iawe, passed forth through the window ; and although he was supposed to be dead, yet was he cu-  
red and liued, and the offender was presently slaine by his guard,  
and all such as were founde accessarie, were executed.

*The kings  
recompence  
to the Por-  
tugals.*

Whilst these things were determined in Fraunce and the low Countries, the king (who remained still in Portugall) sought to giue contentment to the Portugals, who hauing long, and with impor-  
tunitie sought for recompence, were in the ende all in a manner di-  
spatched, giuing vnto many of them orders of knighthoode, much  
of the reuenewes , and all the offices that might bee giuen, to the  
great griefe of the Castillians, who saide, that this realme with more  
right appertained vnto Philip, seeing he had inherited it, bought it,  
and conquered it. This distribution was made by the two Deput-  
ties with great bountie, yet wrought it no good effect in the Kings  
faouour, neither was it acceptable; for finding two kinde of Portu-  
gals, which sought for reward; that is, thos to whom Philip in the  
time of *Henry* and the Gouvernours, had promised money and ho-  
nors to follow his partie; and such as faithfully without promises,  
yea, refusing them, had loiallly serued him : It was in a manner im-  
possible to equall their recompences, so as one of the parties should  
not be discontented; but they proceeded so, as some were grieved,  
and others proude: For besides the errors that were committed by  
reason of the ignorance of the officers, being more easie to promise  
then to performe; the kings Agents had made large offers not on-  
lie to such as coulde helpe, but also to many of small meanes, and  
lesse countenance. The King desired in any case to satisfie these  
bonds; and although he woulde haue rewarded the most faithfull  
aboue all others, yet could he not performe it, for that by reason of  
their excessive promises, all the reuenewes of the crowne had not  
beene sufficient; so as it often hapneth in Courts, they gaue not vnto  
them that deserued, with the like proportion, as to such as were  
vnworthie: So as the loue of the subiects was nothing encreased by  
this meanes, for the most trusty were discontented, seeming against  
reason to bee worse entreated then those, which had beeene lesse  
faithfull, but with rewarde in hande, alleging also that many of  
them had not performed that, for which they were paide; seeming  
sufficient vnto many to remaine newters; and to some that had  
serued

serued Anthony, to say, that they were forced, and such as were least  
faithfull ( for that their harts were not so firmly setled to the Kings  
service ) they supposed to haue carried themselues wisely : They  
esteemed euery small matter to be of great importance, and (suppos-  
ing the king to vnderstand wel what neede he had of them,) in con-  
tempt of the rest they grew insolent. These were the generall cau-  
ses for the which the greatest distribution that euer was within the  
realme, was not pleasing ; but the nature of the Portugals is vneas-  
ie to content, in this respect, for being envious, they doe feele with  
greater griefe an other mans profite, then their owne losse : Those  
of the baser sort, although they expected no answere, hauing enri-  
ched themselues in their trades, by the great multitude of Courtiers ; yet coulde they not suffer the Castillians to be superiors, and  
as it is vsuall with the common people, they desired innouations ;  
the which the King discouering, did greatly trouble his minde, find-  
ing himselfe to faile in that, which he supposed shoulde haue bred  
him a quiet enjoying of the realme. He did appoint (as it hath been  
saide before) that his sister *Mary*, widow to the Emperour *Maxi-  
milian the seconde*, being then in Germanie, shoulde come into  
Spaine, with *Margaret* her daughter : And although the discourse of  
her comming were diuers, for that some supposed she shoulde re-  
maine at Madrill, with the kings daughters ; others, that she should  
come into Portugall, where the King woulde leauue her as Gouer-  
nesse of the realme, to go vnto the States of Aragon, whereunto he  
was called ; yet in the ende she came vnto Lisbone : Notwithstan-  
ding, whether the rumours of Fraunce increased, by reason where-  
of the King woulde not depart ; or that it was not fitte that of an  
Empresse she shoulde become Gouernesse of a small realme, the  
King for that time did not depart, neither did she gouerne at all.  
True it is that hauing resolued to leauue Cardinal *Albert*, Arch Duke  
of Austria, the Empresse son in the government of the realme, he  
begaunne to acquaint him with the dispatch of affaires, and hauing  
one day assembled the Councell of estate, he saide vnto them, that  
for that hee was burthened with the government of many  
realmes, whereof hee had the care, hee desired somewhat to dis-  
charg himselfe ; and for this consideration hauing thought the saide  
Cardinall fitte for the government of the saide realme of Portugal,

*The Em-  
presse Mary  
comes to  
Lubone.*

*The Cardi-  
nall of Au-  
stria made  
Gouvernor  
of Portugal.*

he

he would leauethe charge vnto him, and therefore heereafter they should holde their Councell in his presence.

*The Terceraes  
res in con-  
fusion.*

In this space the Portugals of the Terceraes within the city of Angra were in no small cōfūsion, for after they had imprisoned *John de Betancour*, walled vp the Iesuites within their College, taken diuers ships, and committed extortions vpon diuers Citizens, which followed secretly the Catholique kings partie; there grew among them selues some difficultie, for that it seemed vnto many that *Ciprian de Figueiredo*, chiefe gouernour, did not continue with that vehemence he had begun. And as it happens to him that rules, all the seditious did malice him; so as vpon any smal matter, they tooke occasion to slander him & acuse him of infidelitie, although the cause may only be imputed vnto him, that this Iland was not obedient vnto King Philip: by reason whereof, being desirous in the beginning of winter, to dismisse certaine ships which were there detained, and likewise to deliuere the Iesuits from the prison wherein they were, all the obseruers of his actions opposed them selues, and chiefly the other religious men, as those in that place, being more seditious then the rest, feared most, and were most watchfull of the affaires; so as hee that in a manner had beeene absolute Lorde, the people being nowe incensed against him, hee founde that hee coulde no more execute those things, which had beeene before tolerable. And although he laboured so, as the ships were dismissed, yet coulde hee not deliuere the Iesuits; for hee must of force, with greater rigor, trie the peoples inconstancie, and the distrust of Princes: For hauing aduertised *Anthonie* being in Fraunce, of the estate of the Illand, and of the authoritie that many tooke vpon them against him, demaunding when hee woulde come into the realme, adding withall, that this Iland was ruined, and that it coulde not long continue in this estate; *Anthony* grew in iealousie of him, furthered by the letters he had receiued from his enimies, the which saide plainly that he was a traitor, and therefore he resoluued to sende from Fraunce, vnto the gouernment of these llands, *Emanuel de Sylua*, whom he had newly made Counte of Toresuedras, one of his chiefest fauorites, who arriued there in March, with as ample commission as might be giuen in that place, and hauing dispossessed *Figueiredo* from his charge, he began with a barbarous tyrannie to molest both friends & foes for the

*The cari-  
age of E-  
manuel de  
Sylua at the  
Terceras.*

the recovering of money: Before his arriuall, a shippe laden with meale departed from Angra, with shew to go vnto Brazil, the which being not farre from the Iland, tooke her course for Lisbone: Some supposed that this was a practise of *Figueredo*, and that by this meane by his letter, hee had demaunded pardon of the Catholique King, and offered to deliuer him the Iland, aduising him what course to take; for afterwards an other shippe departing from Lisbone, it was knowne, they not onely carried the kings letters to *Figueredo*, but also to many of the better sorte, the which tooke not the effect that was expected; for the saide shippe arriued after the comming of *Emanuel de Silua*, so as *Figueredo* being dispossessed of his place, coulde not execute his practise, if he had any such thing in hande.

During these stirres, they made a slowe preparation at Lisbone The prepara-  
tion at  
Lisbone  
against the  
Terceres,  
and the ad-  
vice upon  
this enter-  
prise. for the Ilands, for that the King was not yet well resolued to attempt it in the yeere 1582, his Councell varying in their opinions: Some aduised him, presently with all his power to force them, alleging that the longer he delaied it, the more daungerous the enterprise would prooue; for both the French, and English, who (as it was saide) were bounde thither, woulde, if they landed, fortifie, if they had time; so as hardly afterwards they shoulde finde any entrance: They did likewise weigh this enterprise with regard of honor, saying, that it was a thing of small reputation and dishonorable, that so weake an Iland, shoulde dare in the view of Spaine, resist the forces of so great a King: They shewed of how great consequence it was, being (as they saide) seated in a place which was the onely refuge of all the ships, which came from the east and west Indies, and from all the new nauigations, into Spaine: for although there were other Islands in this sea, yet was there not any so commodious as this, the rest being very vnfitte; and if the French and English became masters thereof (as it was to bee feared if they protracted time) and lodged their armes there, they might from thence encounter the ships of those nauigations, the which by reason of their long voy age returne home weare and torme, and (being of themselves indefensible) spoile them, to the great losse and dishonour of al Spaine: They made the enterprise easie, saying, that besides that from Fraunce they had received no great prouision of armes and munition;

tion; in the Ile it selfe, the greatest part of the Nobilitie, and many other would obey the king, but they were forced by the multitude, and durst not discouer themselues; yet when the Kings colours shoulde with a mightie armie be discouered, there woulde appeere in a manner as many friends as enemis: Others, that were of a contrarie opinion, said, that this enterprise was woorthie of great consideration, the which they ought not rashly to vndertake, for attempting it aduisedly, it was most assured; but going to it hastyly, it were dangerous: They shewed that the Iland was by nature verie strong, by reason of vneasie landing, beeing of all parts rough and inaccessible, but in some fewe places, which it was likely they woulde fortifie and guard: They saide, that the garrisons of strangers which they vnderstoode were there, were they neuer so fewe, with the inhabitants of the Iland, were sufficient to hinder their landing: They made great reckoning of the roughnes of the sea, the which commonly suffreth not any ships to ride there aboue two moneths in the yeare, concluding it was better deserre it, then attempt it in vaine, as they had twise done with small honor: They said, that the assurance of the enterprise consisted in delay, for that the Iland shoulde bee neither stronger nor better furnished then it was at that instant, seeing their strength is by nature, & that a great garrison cannot long liue there; that by delaying, the inhabitants themselues will be aduised, for (besides the insolencie of the French) wanting their traffique with Spaine, they shoulde growe so poore, as they will soone aeknowledge their errours: That the ships from the Indies made so small stay at the Islands, as they had no neede of them, but onely to take in fresh water, wherewith they may furnish themselues at Saine Michaels. These reasons helde the Catholique king in suspunce, and for that he was a friend to peace, he declined to delay: but as the newes from Fraunce, Flaunders, and England, did varie, so did they hasten or slacke the preparation for the enterprise.

*The Catholique King  
armes in all  
places and  
she canse.*

In this sorte, and with no small trouble of minde, the three first moneths in the yeare 1582. passed away, but hauing intelligence at the spring, that they did arme many shippes both in Fraunce, Flaunders, and England, and that they were meant for Portugall; that the Turke (notwithstanding his warre against the Sophy) threatned

to

to send forth his galleies; that certaine troupes of foote were come out of Fraunce vnto the *Marquiat* of Salusses ; the King thought it expedient to arme, both to performe this enterprise of the llands, as for the guarde of many places , where he might be endamaged : He thought it a hard thing, and vnwoorthie , to suffer the states of the Low-Countries, to be wrested from him by the Duke of Alançon, without reuenge : He did foresee that the charge would bee verie great , and that he was furnished with little money, and lesse credite ; for by meanes of the decree he had made against the merchants, he was cause of more hurt to himselfe , then to his creditors. The prouisions it behouued him to make were all forced , for hee could not doe lesse then prouide for Italy , as well in regarde of the French as of the Turke : Hee must of force entertaine an armie in Portugall, for although the Realme were in shew quiet, yet the Portugals being of a stirring humor, he could not auoide to arme a nauie sufficient to encounter the Fleete : He thought it necessarie to prouide for Flanders, if not wholy to recouer those estates, yet for feare he should loose more. But that which troubled the King more then all the rest , was the shippes which hee expected this yeere from the Indies , and New-found lands ; fearing that the French hauing the aduantage of the llands, might spoile them, finding that some Pirat had not onely passed into that sea , but also threatned to assaile the Iland of Saint Michael, and that of the Maderes : And therefore the King began to preuent all these dangers in this manner. He mustred all the foote he could in Spaine , and caused them *The Kings  
order in prae-  
paring.* to march towardes Portugall, especially to the Prouince betwixt Doro and Minio, to the gouernment whereof he sent *Ferrant de Toledo*, Prior of Saint Iean : He sent the Marquesse of Saint Croixe to Seuille to arme all the great shippes hee could , and to prepare some galleies : In Biscay he commaunded eighteene Biscaine shippes to be furnished, to make their randeuous in Andelouzie, where they prepared their galleies, and built a good number of great boates to land their souldiers : He wrote into Italy to the Viceroy of Naples, and to the Gouvernor of Millaine , that either of them should leuie 6000. Italian foote : He gaue order in Germany to bring downe 10000. Germanes vnder colour to sende these two nations into Flaunders : And for to be assured of the Iland of Saint Michael, although

although that Ambrose d'Aguiar were there with one Galeon, hee sent thither Peter Peixotto with fие other shippes, who arriued there in good time; for certaine French Pirats were assembled to assaile it, the which they did not forbearre to attempt, for Peixotto with his ships lying at anchor, before the city of punta Delgada, three French ships leauing other sixe behinde shewed themselves, supposing that with his fие ships he would not faile to fight with them three, and as hee should retire the other sixe comming to succour them, they might conquer them, and after this victorie assaile the Iland being weake and vnarmed: But this devise succeeded not, for Peixotto (who desired not to fight, but to preserue the Ilande all hee could) would not come foorth against those three French ships, the which hee forbare the rather, for that the other sixe shippes which remained behinde, discouered themselves, so as the Frenchmen finding they coulde not deceiue the Portugals, and their ambush(as one may say) being discouered, being loath to retire without some booty, they resolued to charge Peixotto as he laye at anchor: But the winde grew scant to approch to land, and the artillerie from a certaine weake forte, would not suffer them to ioine: But the Captaines shippe, being of better saile then the rest, drewe so neere, that hee grappled with a Portugall, where they fought aboue three howeres, with great slaughter on both sides; but the French had beene victors, if Ambrose d'Aguiar who was at lande, foreseeing that the losse of the ships woulde be the ouerthrowe of the Iland, had not succoured Peixotto by boats, sending him aboue an hundred & fiftie men, with the which he defended himselfe, and the French shippe, vnloosing it selfe, retired to the rest, woorse handled then the Portugall; but it was supposed that if the winde had beene any thing stronger, so as the other French ships mought haue come vp to the Portugals, they had beene taken in the viewe of all the Iland. And for that soone after there arriued eighteene Biscaine shippes at Lisbone, which the king had commaunded should be armed in that Prouince; he sent fower of them with sixe hundredth men, for the assurance of that Iland, the which arriued soone after the departure of the French. Sommer was nowe come, and there was still newes from Fraunce, that they made greater preparation for war, arming many ships in all their ports at the instance of Anthony

*Peixotto  
sent to Saint  
Michaels,  
fought with  
Ilande  
by certaine  
French ships.*

thony: The Catholique kings affaires went slowlier forwardes then the importance of the cause required, for that it seemed the Spaniards were not yet well assured, whether the French woulde turne against Portugall, and not goe to the Ilands; yea, some beleueed, that making shew to do so, they woulde take their course for Flaunders, seeming more to importe wholie to assure those countries, and to expell the Catholique Kings forces, then to vndertake an other enterprise of greater difficultie: And the assurance of this opinion did helpe the French, for it did diuert or at the least deuided the Spanish forces, and was cause that in Spaine they prepared not their armies with such expedition as was conuenient: But ha-  
ving after assured intelligence, that the French prepared to en-  
counter the ships that came from the Indies, and the newe founde  
lands, the prouision for Flaunders went slowly forwarde in Italie:  
And in Spaine they made greater haste of their nauie, for the which  
there was want of sailers, and other necessaries, yet with some trou-  
ble they had prepared in Andelouzia about twentie shippes and  
twelue galleies. The Marquesse was returned to Lisbone, giuing *The Mar-*  
*order to the nauie to goe to Cape Saint Vincent, and there to ques-  
attend their charge: At his arriuall he found within the riuier of Ta-*  
*gus twenty other shippes ill appointed, comprehending the Biscaines for the Ter-  
and some Flemmings, hired in a manner by force, where hauing  
shipped sixe thousand Spanish foote, vnder *Lopo de Figueroa*, the  
Marquesse imbarkeſ with many noble men, *Ferrant of Toledo*, go-  
ing as a priuate soldier, with some other gentlemen. This was not  
the kings first intention, being resolute to assemble the body of his  
armie in Andelouzia, whither the shippes of Biscay at their departure  
had commaundement to repaire: but in sailing, being come to Li-  
bone, and hauing hired some others with the gallions of Portugall,  
the king supposed the greatest number was there, & that he should  
spende time to cause one parte of the armie to goe seekke the other;  
supposing they shoulde meeete, he commaunded both the one and  
the other to saile towardes Portugall, as they did, labouring to  
ioine by the way: And although all this was slowly executed, yet  
had it bin more, if the king by his owne presence had not hastened  
their departure, the which was not before the x. of July, in the yeare  
1582. so slow are the Spaniards by nature in the execution of their  
*Sans Cruze  
embarkes  
ceres.**

businesse: At that time the French armie departed with Anthony, and all his followers, being in number aboue threescore and ten saile, and seueral thousand foote, whereof Philip Strozzi and Moun-sieur de Brisack were commaunders.

## THE NINTH BOOKE.

The Contents of the ninth Booke.

*The description of the Iland of Saint Michael: The arriuall of the French armie there: The arriuall of the Spanish armie: The battaile at sea: The death of Philip Strozzi, and of the Count of Vimioso: The voyaige of Anthony to the Terceres, and his manner of proceeding: The sentence of the Marquesse against the prisoners, and his execution: The death of the Duke of Alua, and his praises: The new estates where Prince Philip was sworne, by reason of the death of Prince Diego: And how the Cardinall Archduke of Austria was made Gouernour of Portugall.*

*The hopes of  
the French  
armie at sea  
with Stroz-  
zi.*



Hilest the French and Spanish armies sailed towards the Terceres, both Courtes were in suspence, and in diuers hopes of successe: but in Fraunce they conceiued more assurance then in Portugall; for the French not esteeming the Spanish forces, helde themselues superiours, in number both of ships and men, and hauing the Ilands at their devotion, they stooode assured that their armie should both spoile the Indian fleete, sacke the Iland of Saint Michael, and ouercome the enimies armie, if they ioined with them: And they relied so much thereon, that extending their hopes farther, furthered by the promises of Anthony, and of what he said, that he had followers in Portugall,

gall, they hoped to approch the realme, and to put men on lande, and to arme the vnarmed Portugals ; for which cause they carried great quantitie of armes, and to set so firme a footing vpon the maine lande, as they should easily maintaine themselues, so as with this intention many Noble men and gentlemen imbarked with the Armie, both for that the French are easie to mooue, as also heerein to please the Queene mother. In the Court of Spaine , their thoughts were not all so conformeable, nor so ioyfull; for the Portugals, being now as contrarie in their humours to the Castillians, as they had beeene euer, making hope equall to their owne desires, seeing the affaires now in equal ballance, many wylshed they shold make no resistance, and many expected the comming of *Antho-nie*: The rest of the Portugals, more content with the present state of the Castillians, shewed great hope the warres shold now ende, saying they were assured, they shold defeat this Armie, take *Antho-nie* prisoner, and either by loue or force subdue the Ilandes; yet inwardly they were not well satisfied: For seeing their armies devi ded, without hope to ioyne, it seemed vnto the wisest the victorie was not so assured as sonie supposed, and that the Spaniards by gi uing battaile shold hazard to lose much and winne little, and contrariwise the French to winne much and loose little; for that the greatest mischiefe that coulde seeme to happen to the enimies, was the defeating of the Armie, and taking the Ilandes from their obedience, which things although they shoud all happen, yet were they not of any great moment to Fraunce; but if contrariwise the Spanish Armie shold be defeated, their losse would be equall to the French; for besides the ships, they shold withall lose with the Iland of Saint Michaell, the hope to recover the rest, the Indian Fleet withal their treasure shold serue as a Pray to the French, and the realme shold be stil in doubt, subiect to all those inconueniences, which so great a losse shold bring with it, chiefly vnto a realme newly conquered. This feare was augmented, for that their Armie, which consisted of good ships, and was manned with good souldiers, was notwithstanding vnprouided of mariners, and wilde fiers, whereof some were drawen by force, and the Marques himselfe went with small contentment, not for that hee feared, but hauing bee ne at his departure, somewhat discountenanced by the King,

*The bopes of  
the Court of  
Spaine con-  
cerning the  
Armie at  
sea.*

blaming him to haue beeene too slacke in the dispatch of the Armie; besides going, in Flemmish ships, and with Germane soldiers, little acquainted with the sea, increased these doubts: yet outwardly these men shewed a great confidence, grounding the rests of their hopes, vpon the qualitie of the Spanish souldiers, and the greatness of their ships. Manie woondred how the wordes of *Anthonie* could so preuaile in Fraunce, as in a maner to moue all that Court to vnder-take his protection, with so great vehemencie as they had done, not shewing any pretention he had vnto the Crowne, hauing no great hope to make him Lord, nor to imploy such forces as he pretended to haue, seeing, that such as fauoured hym were kept vnder in Portugall with great garrisons: And this readines of the French, seemed to them the greater, for that before they had shewed themselves more slack to succour the Portugals against the Castillians, when as they had a fitter occasion and a more grounded hope of good successe, then now they could haue; for in the yeere of our Lord 1466. *Alphonse* the fift King of Portugal, going into Fraunce to deuaund succours of *Lewis* the eleuenth, for the warres which he had against the Catholique King *Ferdinand*, he obtained nothing at all, but hauing spent some time in vaine returned home in dispaire. But laying aside all olde examples, it seemes that if the French should haue risen in fauour of *Anthonie*, either to aide him sincerely, or to vse him as an instrument, to set footing in Portugall, they might haue done it with better meanes in the yeere 1580. when possibly they might haue disquieted *Philip* in taking of possession, or at the least kept him that yeere from passing the riuier of Tagus; so as it seemed strange to see Fraunce send foorth so great an Army out of season, in fauour of *Anthonie* a fugitiue: But the estate of worldly affaires considered, it seemes there are new reasons, wherby the French should be more easily induced then they had beeene then; for to haue a brother to the King of Frannce, in a manner to possesse the states of Flaunders, and the Queene mother to pretend to the inheritance of the Realme of Portugall, and to be moued against *Philip*, were all subiects to draw the French readie against this Realme, and diuert the Spanish forces.

*The arri-  
val of the  
French ar-*

In this while the French army arriued at the Iland of Saint Mi-  
chaeill the fifteene of Iuly before the Spanish, and drawing neare the  
village

village of Laguna there they cast anchor, and landed aboue two <sup>me at the  
Ilande of  
Saint Mi-  
chael, and  
the descrip-  
tion thereof.</sup> thousand foote. This Iland hath not aboue an hundred miles in circuit, it is in forme so long and narrow, that extending it selfe from East to West aboue fortie miles, it hath not aboue twelue in breadth; that part which looketh to the South is most fertill, and best inhabited; for towardes the North, except one village which they call Riuiera the great, there are fewe dwellings. Vpon that part which is towardes the South, beginning from the East, and at the Cape which they call Morro, running towards the West, there are diuers habitations: The first which is ffeue and twentie miles from Morro, they call Villa Franca; wherein there are ffeue hundred houses: The second Acqua de Palo; the third Laguna, all smally peopled: The fourth is the towne which they call Punta Delgada, greater then the rest, the which hath vpon the West a small Castle. Betwixt these dwellings there runne into the sea some promontories; the first before you come to Villa Franca, is called Punta de Garza; the second La Gallea, betwixt the saide place and Acqua de Palo; betwixt Laguna, and the citie, there are two others, but lesse, that is Pugnette, and Teste de Chien: At the point of Pugnette, <sup>Or the dogs  
bread.</sup> towardes Laguna, as I haue saide, the French landed, and ha-  
uing spoiled the village, they marched on to seeke for greater Pray.

A little before Ambrose D' Aguiar, who had the place of Gouver- <sup>The death of  
Ambrose  
D' Aguiar.</sup> nour, was deceased in the towne, and although his wiues sonne would have succeeded in the Gouvernement, yet it seemed that Peter Peixotto, Captaine of the ffeue ships, was amongst the Portugals of greatest authoritie; but Lawrence Noghera, a man of courage and valour, was Captaine ouer the Spanish souldiers, in that which concerned matters of warre: All the inhabitants being fearefull, had alreadie transported their wiues and goods vnto the mountaines, and haing discouered the Armie, this feare increasing, the towne remained emprie of all things. The chiefe beeing assembled in counsell, they resolued to run their ships on ground, that the enemy might haue no vse of them, and goe to field with their Spanish souldiers, with the Biscayne marrines, and such Portugals as would goe; the which was not fully executed, for the Biscaines would not suffer their ships to be broken; and Peter Peixotto was vnwilling to

haue his men defecated; yet the souldiers put them selues in order to march against the French, led by *Noghera* and *Peixotto*: They had gathered togither aboue two thousand Portugals, who with the Castillian souldiers and Biscaine mariners, made neere three thousand: but *Laurence Noghera* being doubtfull of the Portugals, before their departure exhorted them with milde wordes to fight; making shew of feare that they would abandon him; but they made answeare, offering them selues with such willingnes, and courage, as he hoped to preuaile, and therefore issuing foorth against the enemie, he hoped to force them to retire.

*The first encounter of  
the French.*

The French drew neere vnto him; but hauing intelligence by their auant courters, they resolued before they approched neerer to leaue the right way, and goe to the citie and castle without fighting, hoping to finde all ynfurished: for this cause hauing left the sea shoare, they went more to land, which being knowne to *Noghera*, altering his course he went to encounter them: The skirmish being begun, when as the captaine hoped to vse his men, hee saw his Portugals flie, so as being vnable with his Castillians and Biscaines, to withstande so great a force of the enemie, he retired himselfe to the castell being wounded, with the losse of some of his men, where soone after hee died; the remainder being in hope ( amongst the which the Bishop *Peter de Castiglia* behaued himselfe wisely ) to be able to defende them selues, although they had more hope in the comming of the Catholique armie, then in their forces: *Peter Peixotto* although he were in credite amongst them, yet fearing that all was lost, stealing foorth by night with a carauell, hee went to Lisbone, to aduertise the Marquesse; but it was not his happe to meeete him; yet was he for all this being a Portugall, fauoured of the king: There appeared at this time, amongst the Ilands, one of the Indian shippes, very rich; yet the French were not so happie as to meeete with it, although it failed almost in viewe of the Terceres, for hauing intelligence by a French shippe of the occurrents of those parts, hee left his right course and went to Cape Saint Vincent, & from thence to Lisbone in saftey.

The newes of these things which *Peixotto* brought to Lisbone, did more confirme the hopes of the *Anthonians*, then trouble the Castillians, or their followers; for those varied in their thoughts vpon

vpon euery small euent; and to those who were more settled, it seemed, that hitherto the French had not onely done any thing of importance, but contrarie to that which good soldiers ought to doe, they had assailed this Iland: For that it seemed their principal intention being to seaze vpon the Indian fleete, or to cause a tumult within the realme, they shoulde not busie themselues, and spende time in any other action, with small hope of gaine: for that the Iland being weake, and the towne without wals, it was apparant, that to be masters thereof with trouble, were to labour in vaine; for although they did subdue it, yet the weakenesse and facilitie of landing will alwaies force them to obey whom soever shoulde bee master at sea: besides they were in danger, the Spanish fleete arrueng, whilst they were troubled on lande, their armie founde at anchor, might easily be defeated; yet the French seemed little to feare it, for that they remained long carelesse at lande, at what time *Anthony* was lodged in the couent of Saint Rocke neere vnto the armie, labouring both by wordes and threatening to haue the forte, and being after come to the towne, hee wrote generally to all that were within, requiring them to consigne it into his handes, as his owne, offring to suffer them to depart freely; but hauing no answere conformable to his desires, he caused some peeces of artillerie to bee landed from the ships to batter it; but there followed no effect, for the Spanish armie arriuied.

Which hauing sayled eleuen daies with varietie of weather, ha-  
ving discouered the Iland not being ioyned with the ships and gal-  
leies, which were parted from Andelouzia, but onely the number  
which came from Lisbone, whereof there remained fower ships  
and some carauels behinde, three of them ( let with the tides) could  
not get out of the riuier of Tagus with the rest, and the fourth return-  
ed backe vpon a great leake, so as the Armie consisted but of eight  
and twentie ships; for although the other three got foorth the next  
day, yet they arriuied not with the rest at Saint Michaels, but before  
them, where hauing intelligence of the French, they went to sea,  
without ioyning afterwardes with the armie: The first place the  
*Marques* discouered was *Le Morro* the one and twentieth day of  
July, and arriuied the two and twentieth at *Villa Franche*, without  
hauing any intelligence of the French Armie: In this arriuall the

*The arriuall  
of the Spa-  
nish armie at  
the Ilands.*

Spaniards

Spaniards had some disaduantage , for that the enimies lying close to the land with their ships , and in a manner couered , sawe them come a farre off without being discouered by them . The day before the *Marques* had sent foorth Captaine *Aguirre* with two carauelles armed to discouer , with instructions what course he shoulde take , if he found the enimie , to whom he deliuered letters for *Ambrose D'Azuiar* , of whose death he was ignorant , whereby he did aduertise him of the comming of the armie , of the number of men and ships he had , and how he did howetly expect the ships and galleies prepared in Andelouzia , demaunding newes of the French armie ; if it were passed , with how many saile , and for what place ; saying , that his intention was to fight with them , and therefore hee shoulde will Peter *Peixotto* prepare himselfe with his ships to follow him . As the *Marques* had cast anchor vnder Villa Franca , one of the three carauels , which had staied behinde and after passed them , being laden with horses came vnto the Captaines ship , assuring them , that the three ships which had remained within the riuier of Tagus , were arrived two daies before at the Ilande , and were returned backe , and that certaine French ships had taken two other carauels laden with horses , and that they did hardly escape them . But the *Marques* gaue no trust vnto their words , although the French armie were there ; he sent other men to lande , to learne the truth , who returned soone without knowing any certaintie , for that their approch to lande being defended , they had contrarie reports made vnto them : Notwithstanding the *Marques* did still see more apparant signes of the disobedience of the Ilande , especially vpon the returne of one of the carauels of Captaine *Aguirre* , the which reported that the saide Captaine with the other had beene taken by a French ship : for this cause the *Marques* called *Lopo de Figueroa* Marshall of the field to councell , where they resolued betwixt them to land some men , both to take in fresh water , to haue certaine intelligence of the affaires , and to approch with the armie to some more conuenient place for that effect . But they remained not long in these doubts , for they had no sooner appointed some to discouer some better anchoring place , the armie being vnder saile , they began to discouer towards the towne certaine ships , the which increasing still in number came against them , iudging what it was , as in truth

truth it was the enimy, laying aside what they had treated of, hauing assembled Peter of Toledo, the marshall of the Campe generall, the Marques of Fauara, Peter Taxis Commissarie generall, *Frauncis Bouadiglia* Marshall of the field, and some other gentlemen and Captaines, they called a new councell, where it was propounded, whether they should fight or take any other partie. The Castillian armie had no place of retreat, to returne backe they could not, without great danger, to get the winde of the French there was no meanes, for with their lighter shippes, and easier to turne into the winde, they might chase, flicke, fight, and retire themselves from fight at their pleasure: So as the Spanish Captaines framing their opinions according to the necessitie, the matters standing so as the free election remained not in them, resolued to fight: *Anthoine* hauing (by the letters, which the Marques had written to *Ambrose d' Aguiar*, taken in the carauel with *Aguirre*) intelligence what forces they had, and what they expected, and with all of his intention, for this cause he had resolued with *Strozzi*, *Briffac*, and the Counte *Vimioso*, that it was fittest to fight with this armie, consisting of so small a number of shippes, before the other part which they expected should arriuue; and therefore hauing imbarqued with all possible speed, they came in battell against the Marques, hauing first laboured but in vaine to take the Castel by new threatnings. Then did the Marques appoint what order hee would haue the armie keepe in the fight: Vpon the right side of his gallion called *S. Martin*, he placed that of *Saint Mathew*, wherein was *Lopo de Figueroa*; and on the left, that of *Frauncis Bouadiglia* with fower other shippes of succour, all the rest were put in order, onely *Christopher d' Erasso* remained behinde, with a great ship of importance, for that hauing his mast a little craſſed, he durst not vſe any force; so as the Marques had but ſeven and twentie shippes, in all the which, especially in the two gallions they gaue verie good order for the fight: For hauing deuided the ſouldiers into their rankes, and appointed diuers commanders, they provided not onely for all necessities, but also for any thing that could chaunce with great judgement; but it was in vaine, for at that time the armies came not neere one another, by ſeven or eight miles, both for that the winde was scant, as also for that the night approched; so as after the Marques had discharged a peece of artillerie as

*The Marques resolues to fight.*

*The Marques order for his battell.*

it were in signe of Battell; the French bent towards the citie, and the Catholique armie turned to sea, not hauing any intelligence of what had passed at lande, neither should he haue had it so soone by any other meanes, if the same night *Iohn de Castillio*, who had succeeded *Laurence Noghero* in the castell, had not aduertised the Marques what had happened in the Iland, and assured him that the fortresse held yet, both to the ende he shoulde haue care to succour it, and to haue succour from thence if need were: For this cause he sent by night one of the patrons of the Biscaine shippes in a boate with his letters, aduertising him of all the successe since the arriuall of *Anthonie*, vntill that time. He saide that the enemies armie consisted of eight and fiftie saile, whereof eight and twentie were great shippes, with sixe thousand fighting men, that if the Catholique armie were not strong enough to encounter them, he shoulde retire vnder the fortresse, where the one might succour the other: The Marques made answere vnto him by the same messenger, that he shoulde be of good courage, that his Maiesties armie was strong enough to vanquish the enemie, as he hoped to doe the next day: So as the morning being come, the French came with great ioy to encounter the Spaniards, who for that effect had put themselues againe in battell, but although the French had both wind and sun fauourable vnto the, yet the calme was so great as they could hardly approch; so as the two armies continued one against the other vntil the afternoon, when as the winde growing somewhat stronger, the French began to make shew to charge the Spaniards: But seeing them in order without any shew of feare, they did not effect it, but continued vntill night, sayling equally towards the Iland of Saint Marie, fiftie miles from that of Saint Michael towards the south, sometimes vpon one boord, sometimes vpon another, the French making often shew to ioyne with them, being in their power to doe it, the wind being fauourable to them, and contrarie to the Spaniards: But night being come, the French resoluing in any sort to fight, the day following they sent ten ships alongst the Ile, with intent to follow the enemies armie, and to charge them in the dawning of the day on both sides, but the winde grew calme and they could not sayle. The day following, which was the fower and twentieth, the Spaniards likewise desired to fight, although it seemed with some disadvantage,

uantage, wanting that part of their armie, which was prepared in Andelouzia; yet they greeued to haue their enimies before them not being able either to flie or fight but when they pleased, the which increased their desire, and thinking it would so fall out by changing of their sailes from one side to another, imagining the French would also follow the like aduantage; but although the enemie did then make more apparant shew to charge them, then before; yet nothing followed, but only the generall ships, with others that were neerest vnto them on both sides, spent many volleies of great shot, whereby the French had greatest losse by one of their ships which sunke presently: Hauing spent the whole daie in this sort towardes the euening, the Marques, to trie if hee could get the winde, commaunded all his fleete, vpon the nights approch, should turne towards the Ilande of Saint Michaell, to get the winde of the enemie, giuing them to vnderstand that the Admiral ship that night (least the enemie should discouer their intent) should not carrie his ordinarie light, but about midnight discharge a cannon, to draw the rest of the ships neere vnto him: This order was giuen, and duely obserued, by all the fleete except two Easterlings, who not being aduertised by the negligence of him that had the charge, strayed so farre from the fleete, that hauing lost the sight they could not recover it, and hauing within them tower hundred Germaine souldiers; it seemed this armie decreased dayly both in number of ships and men: And for that the winde grew somewhat high, the Marques thought it conuenient after midnight hauing discharged his cannon, to hang outhis lanterne as he did, the which succeeded well, for the getting the winde of the enemie: yet this devise preuailed little, for vpon the breake of the day, it was the feast of Saint *James* the Apostle the five and twentith of the moneth, whom the Spaniards call vpon in their battels; they discouered the French armie scattered a farre off, as well to succour the shippe that did sinke, as also to repaire some other hurts receiuied the day before by their cannon: But some affirme that the French woulde not willingly fight vpon this Saints day: And although the Spaniards might well haue charged them, yet did they forbear, for that the ship of Christopher D'Eraffo which had his mast crased strooke sailes, and discharged a peece; so as finding that it was wholy broke, they were inforced

*The Marques gets  
the wind of  
the French  
armie.*

forced to enuiron her with the army, least in this danger she should be set vpon, whereby the French recovered the winde they had lost: and the ship of *D' Eraffo* being repaired, so as they might carrie halfe their saile, the Marques hauing tied her with a cable towed her at his sterne, and so this day passed without any other effect, but spending of some great shot.

*The French  
disagree.*

These shewes of fight, which the French had so often made, were not altogether counterfeit, for although the first time, and peraduenture the second, they did it onely to sound the enemies disposition; yet after they resolued to fight, but their opinions were not so conformeable in this Armie, as in the Spanish; for although *Philip Strozzi*, *Brisack*, the Counte of *Vimioso*, and some others desired to ioyne, yet many were loth to see it; and therefore seeing the Admirals ship not to begin the fight, the rest did not force of it: *Strozzi* & the Earle, who were both in one ship, were more willing then all the rest, yet had they not charged the enimie; for that the shippe wherein they were imbarke, was a woorse sailour, then many others: For this cause being not able to make such speed as they desired, they coulde not beginne the battaile, so as their friendes which were in other ships, supposed the fault to be in them, and not in their shippe, and that they might, if they had would: Which opinion was furthered by the small desire they had to fight; the which *Strozzi* finding, hee resolued to change his shippe, and to take an other of more speed; and therefore hauing passed with the Earle and his men into that wherein was *Monsieur Beumont*, marshall generall of the campe, being of better saile, he resolued therewith to charge the enimie; the which hee did the day following, being the xxvj. Saint Annes day: vpon the dawning both armies being at calme not aboue three miles the one from the other, and 20. miles from Saint Michaels, they sailed gently towards the Iland, vntill the winde growing somewhat fresh in fauour of the French, towardes noone both armies approched, being not aboue tenne miles from the Iland: Being there set in order, in the yangard of the French marched the generall shippe with *Strozzi* and the Counte of *Vimioso*; the admirall with *Mounsieur Brisack* accompanied with three English ships, followed by all the rest of the flete, some neerer, some farther off: In the Spanish, the hulke wherein was

*The begin-  
ning of the  
fight at sea.*

*Frauncis*

*Frauncis de Bonadilla*, went before the rest, there followed the gallion Saint Martin, wherin the Marques was, who towed after him the ship wherein was *Christopher d' Erasso*, then followed that of Saint Mathew, wherein was *Lopo de Figueroa*, these went before as a buckler to the rest of the fleete which followed. The French had deuided amongst them the Spanish ships, wherewith euery one shoulde grapple, but it was a matter that coulde not succeede, for the winde, the sea, and the order which had beeene so often altered, hindered that resolution: The gallion Saint Mathew staied somewhat behinde, the which was cause it was first set vpon, for the captaine and admirall of the French, with other three ships turning their prooes vpon her, went to charge her, and the captaine with great dexteritie to auoide the shotte, ioyned with them towards the prooe, and boorded the gallion from the middle forwarde, leauing place for the rest to approch, the which inuested her rounde with a great stremme of fire and shotte: *Lopo de Figueroa* being vnder their lee, not able to vse his sailes as he woulde, seeing such, and so great ships come to charge him, staied for them. There beganne a cruell fight, their artillerie did much harme, especially the Spanish, being the biggest, so as two of the French ships being sorely beaten therewith, and with their small shotte, after some fight, fell vpon the gallion, which remained betwixt the captaines ship the admirall and an other, who being succoured with fresh men in small boats from the other shippes, troubled *Figuerda* much, especially hauing his shippe fired by the enemie in many partes: But being a man of great valour, accompanied with expert soldiers, hee made an honorable defence, and with great resolution preuented all inconueniences. He remained in this estate aboue two houres without any succour, at the ende whereof, a Biscaine ship of *Peter Garagarza*, wherein were two companies of Spanish soldiers, drawing neare, succoured him much: The Marques seeing in what danger this gallion was, would gladly haue succoured it, but he could not so sodainly performe it, as neede required; for being forced to returne backe, and saile directly against the winde, a matter impossible, but by turning on the right and on the left to gaine a little way, hee feared in the meane time she shoulde bee vanquished: Against the saide gallion Saint Martin, wherein the Marques was when as the Saint Mathew was

charged, there came likewise two great French shippes, but they were so beaten with the cannon from the saide gallion, and from the ship wherein *Frauncis de Bouadilla* was neere vnto the capitaine, that one of the enemis shippes was like to sinke, & so passed on, so as the Marques being freed, he caused all the armie to turne towards the gallion Saint Mathew, and with all possible speede drewe neere vnto him; vpon the turning of the armie the areergard fell to be vanguard, as it hapneth in the like case, so as the shippes of *Michael d'Quendo*, of capitaine *Villauicosa*, & an other Biscaine, which were the first to succour him, remained in the fronte, and all three inuested the French admirall, who being ill intreated in this cruell fight, fell from the gallion Saint Mathew. Another shipp, wherein was *Michael de Benesa*, passed on forwarde, and valiantly grappled with the French capitaine on the outside, so as the gallion Saint Martin wherein the Marques was / could not approch neere any one of the enemis chiefe shippes, being enuironed with his friends, so as he was forced to turne about and passe on: The French admirall defended himselfe with great courage against the thre shippes; that of *Villauicosa* which fought in the prooe, did endamage him greatly, but the capitaine thereof was slaine; that of *Oquendo* which fought in the sterne had boorded her, with his men taken prisoners and ensignes, and began to spoile: But the capitaine finding that his shipp by reason of a shott, was in danger of sinking, fell from her to repaire her leake, so as being in a manner freed from the enemie, he tooke his course towards Saint Michael, yet hee coulde not get thither, but sunke by the way, being spoiled by the artillerie; and Mounſieur *Brisac* laud himselfe in a small boat: But these two armies did not so ioine as it was expected; for that the Frēch army, although they had a full wind, yet would they not willingly grapple with the Spaniards as they might haue done; but many of them stooode idle, discharging only their great shot: And although some of them laboured to boord *Frauncis de Bouadilla*, and *Christopher d'Eraffo*, yet the artillerie kept them off, so as they durst not approch: A Biscaine shipp wherein were captaines *Michael de Cardona*, and *Peter Pardo*, boorded a French man, which was fallen from the S. Mathew, and forced her to yeeld, being already weake, hauing spoiled and abandoned it, she after fledde: Capitaine *Villauicosa* the elder, with his shipp wherein

*Mounſieur  
Brisac fles.*

wherein was the company of *Lewes de Gueuara*, boorded an other, and after a long fight vngrapled her selfe, and one or two ships more boorded her, and the rest fought passing onely by, and discharging their artillerie. The gallion Saint Mathew made a great resistance, two of those ships which had fallen from her, battered with the cannon, sunke; and although the generall of the French were succoured with many men, yet was he so beaten, that they within began to yeeld, but for that there were many Spaniards dead, and manie hurt, so as there remained within the gallion not aboue seuentie able men to fight, *Lopo de Figueroa* would not suffer them to enter, & make the victorie absolute, the which the French finding, and receiuing presently a new supply of three hundred men, they vngrappled hoping to saue then selues: But the Marques who stood vpon his guarde, sayling first on one side, and then on another, pressing the enimie with his artillerie and small shot, when he saw his ship fall off, he charged her, and so did another Biscaine ship on the other side, wherein was Captaine *Bastida* and *John de Vinero*; but the fight continued not aboue one hower, at the ende whereof the Spanish generall became Master of the enimies ship with the losse of aboue 300. French: there found they *Philip Strozzi*, whom presently they transported into the Marques gallion, but being wounded to the death, he died presently, without speech, to the great grieve of all valiant men: The Counte of *Vimioso* was taken prisoner by *Cornell Mondino* an Italian aduenturer, but being wounded vnto the death, he liued onely two daies, embraced by the Marques as if he had beene his kinsman. Such was the ende of *Frauncis of Portugall* Counte of Vimioso, more honourable then any one of those which had followed *Antlonie* vnto this day: He was yoong, indued with good parts, both of bodie and minde, if they had not beene accompanied with a certaine childish vanitie, which made him thus obstinate; besides such as knew him lamented his death, beeing by nature amiable: There found they also with no small admiration fourescore gentlemen, whereof thirtie were Lords and had their subiects, with many other persons in number aboue three hundred: The fight had continued fife howers, when as the French seeing their generall yeelded, their Admirall lost, two others sunke, and many broken with artillerie, they began to flee; but the Marques,

*The death of  
Strozzi and  
of the Counte  
Vimioso.*

by reason of the night, pursued them not, fearing for that they were better sailers he should not boord them , and being separated hee should be forced to diuide his armie, the which he would not willingly doe; besides he should be constrained to leaue the gallion Saint Mathew behinde him in danger , being vnable to sayle without tackling, sailes and anchors, the whiche the enemie had burnt and throwen into the sea: There was one thing woorthie the obseruation, that being within this gallion a Priest called *John de Laem Chaplein* vnto the Marshall of the field, a man which had seene the warres , during the fight being vnder the lowest decke of the gallion, when he saw so much wilde fire cast by the French, hearing their shot, and finding the hurt the cannon did, hee died, onely of feare and amasement , hauing receiuied no wound : The Spaniards recovered one of their carauels with horse which had beeene taken, and had taken more of their French ships, if they could haue manned them with mariners to conduct them; but for this cause the Admirall ( which was cast away ) abandoned, and some others torne and abandoned by the French were not kept; for this consideracion the Marques burnt two, which had been abandoned and some others ranne vpon the Iland: In this battell the French lost seuen or eight of their best ships , and there died in the fight aboue two thousand of their men , with many hurt; as for the Spaniards there died about two hundred , and aboue fife hundred wounded: The Portugals pertisants vnto *Anthoine*, say, that the French fought not at all, for that the Captaines were corrupted by King *Philip*, and this opinion encreased, for that after *Anthoine* caused *Edward d' Castro* to lose his head in the Iland, supposing him to be the meates thereof, but they were deceiuied; for although that *Castro* had promised many things vnto the Kings ministers, when as they deliuered him out of prison, whereunto hee was committed when they tooke him flying out of Portugall , yet could he never effect any; but the cause of his death was for certaine practises begun after this deafeate, and for that he had committed murther vpon the person of *Anthony Baraccio* a deere friend vnto the said Prior, and one of them that had proclaimed him King. Behold the issue of the sea fight, at the Ilands, which possibly is one of the greatest that euer happened within the bounds of the Ocean ; for although in the Low-Coun-

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*Anthony his voyage to the Terceres and his arriuement thither.*

*Anthony* who remained in a small barke, light and well furnished, the day before the battaile, when as they had resolued to fight, although his whole fortune depended in a manner on this day, not finding himselfe secure in this place, retired with two other small barkeres to the Terceres, where in the citie of Angra, they had prepared for him a sumptuous entrie, with arches, images, and all triumphes, commonly vsed at the ioyfull comming of Princes : But deuining, it may be the vnhappie successe, these preparations seemed out of season ; for hauing forborne to passe to a bridge of wood, which they had built onely for his comming, whereby hee shoulde enter the streets that were garnished, he landed farre from thence with small companie and more sorrow then ioy : There did he howerly receiue sundry newes of the armie, and by little and little he vnderstoode the successe thereof, with an incredible grieve, the which encreased the more by the intelligence giuen him of the death of *Strozzi*, and the Earle, and now caring for his safetie, waueing in his thoughts, hee knewe not howe to behaue himselfe in so rough an accident : for although he relied much in the inhabitants of the llands, and in the strength thereof, seeming to be safe in this place, yet feared he least the Marques pursuing his victorie, should assaile him, and that his men hauing their harts vanquished with this losse, shoulde not be able to make resistance ; and therefore he enclined rather to abandon then defend it : He was somewhat assured of this feare vpon the arriuall of seuentene French and Englisches

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*Anthony* who remained in a small barke, light and well furnished, the day before the battaile, when as they had resolued to fight, although his whole fortune depended in a manner on this day, not finding himselfe secure in this place, retired with two other small barkes to the Terceres, where in the citie of Angra, they had prepared for him a sumptuous entrie, with arches, images, and all triumphes, commonly vsed at the ioyfull comming of Princes : But deuining, it may be the vnhappy successe, these preparations seemed out of season; for hauing forborne to passe to a bridge of woode, which they had built onely for his comming, whereby hee shoulde enter the streets that were garnished, he landed farre from thence with small companie and more sorrow then ioy : There did he howerly receiue sundry newes of the armie, and by little and little he vnderstoode the successe thereof, with an incredible griefe, the which encreased the more by the intelligence giuen him of the death of *Strozz*, and the Earle, and now caring for his safetie, waering in his thoughts, hee knewe not howe to behauie himselfe in so rough an accident: for although he relied much in the inhabitants of the llands, and in the strength thereof, seeming to be safe in this place, yet feared he least the Marques pursuing his victorie, should assaile him, and that his men hauing their harts vanquished with this losse, shoulde not be able to make resistance; and therefore he enclined rather to abandon then defend it: He was somewhat assuaged of this feare vpon the arruall of seuentene French and Eng-

glish ships to that place, of those that had fledde from the battaile to repaire their hurts receiued, to cure their wounded men, and to take in water: with these men he thought himselfe able to defende it, yet had they all but fewe soldiers, hauing in the battaile succoured the Counte of Brisack and Strozzi with all their men; yet there arrived still more, for at that time there returned but eightene French shippes into Fraunce, with Brisack, and fise other English: Mounseur de Landes, captaigne of nine shippes flying from the battaile, went to Fayale, where his soldiers began to spoile, & although it were not his meaning, but hauing auoided the sacke, retired to Angra, yet for this cause they woulde not suffer him to enter, or else that Anthony doubted his safetie.

The Marques as it is saide, the day being ended, resoluing not to pursue the enimie, he drew neere to the Iland of Saint Michael to repaire his shippes, to looke to his hurt men, and to water; but the winde being contrary woulde not suffer him, keeping him three daies off at sea, the fourth he drew neere to Villa Franca, where he landed his hurt men, and prouided what he needed, the inhabitants of all parts of the Ile hauing yeelded their obedience. The first of August *Francis de Bonadilla* landed with fowre companies of soldiers, in the middest whereof vpon the sea shoare, hee put all the French prisoners, leading them to the market place of Villa Franca, vnto a scaffolde built the height of a man, where with a loude voicewas read the sentence of the Marques, whereby shewing that the Catholique King hauing peace with the most Christian King, against the saide peace publikely sworne, an armie of many aduenturers was come out of Fraunce in fauour of Anthony Prior of Crato, with an intent to take the Catholique Kings flete, which he expected from the Indies, and the new founde lands, and to spoile the Ilands, as they had already done that of Saint Michaels; and that the same armie hauing tried a battaile against his Maiesties, the French had beene broken and ouercome; in the which being taken eight and twentie noble men, and two and fiftie gentlemen, and manie other marriners and soldiers, he declared them taken as enimies to the quiet, and publike good; disturbers of the traffike, and fauoures of his Maiesties rebels; that as such, and as publike pirats hee commaunded the Auditor generall of the armie, that for their chastice-

*The sen-  
tence of the  
Marques  
against the  
French pri-  
soners.*

chaisticement, and for the example of others, hee shoule execute vpon them the punishment of naturall death, beheading the Gentlemen, and hanging the rest, which passed the age of seuentene yeeres, being so conuenient both for the seruice of God, and of the two kings. This sentence seemed cruell to all such as heard it, and chiefly vnto the Spanish soldiers, both for that they feared the like might happen vnto the an other day; as also for that they would not lose the profit which many expected by the raunsome of the saide prisoners; or else for their owne good inclination, so as some of the soldiers laying aside all respect, saide it was not well grounded, for that there was no firme and inuiolable peace betwixt the Catholique King and most Christian, but warre, and that those were neither pirats nor theeues, but valiant soldiers: That there was no peace, they prooved it by the warres of Flaunders, more hot then euer, where the French did in a manner possesse all the Catholique Kings patrimonie: And that they were no pirats, they prooved by the letters patents they had from the King, vnder the which the ships and soldiers were enrolled; besides, the number and qualitie of these men were such, as it appeareed cleerely, they woulde not haue attempted it of themselues, if the king had not sent them: And although betwixt the two crownes they dissembled many things, the Christian King excusing himselfe sometimes vpon his mother, sometimes vpon his brother, that they were all deuises of Princes; but for all that, they were not without open warre, the lawes whereof (they saide) was not so stricte, as to commaund them to hang all their prisoners. And this execution did so mooue the hearts of ~~ma-~~ The Spanish  
soldiers en-  
tre for the  
French. nanie, that some of the principall soldiers being assembled togither, went (with a commendable example) vnto the Marques to make intercession for the life of their enimies, who answered, that the most Christian King had expressly commaunded, that all Frenchmen that shoule take armes against the Catholique King, shoule be corporally punished; so as the same day these Gentlemen with a generall pittie, and great seuertie were beheaded vpon the scaffole, and the mariners and soldiers hanged in diuers places, and the pittie was the greater, being apparent that they were all not onely valiant soldiers, but Catholique and deuout Christiens: The blame of this severre execution, was not imputed to the Marques, supposing

*I be Spa-  
niards dis-  
contented  
with the sen-  
tence and  
thereson.*

*The French  
beheaded  
and hanged.*

supposing that he had expresse commaundement from the King, whom likewise they excused, for hauing so determined, seeing it was not to bee presumed that so many personages of importance, should come with such an armie and remaine prisoners, especially knowing that *Philip* by his owne inclination was not cruell: yet on the other side, they considered, that the King in his minde shoulde haue conceiuied a cruell disdaine against the French, seeing that vnder the shadow of amitie, peace and alliance, Kings writing daily one to the other, greeuing and reioycing at their troubles and contents, did not onely aide his rebels, but also tooke his countries, and sent so great an armie to endomage him: And although that Princes do vsually dissemble, and counterfeit in many things, yet it seemed the French vnder a new kinde of dissimulation, would make warre, whereby they did inferre that this execution did nothing displease the King. The armie being a little repaired here, the Marques went to the Ile of Coruo to meeete with the Indian flete, and hauing past in view of the citie of Angra, he put *Anthonie* and all the people into confusion: for although the Marques content with the victorie, would not thrust himselfe into a new danger; yet *Anthonie* doubted that in the heat of the victorie, he would pursue and assaile the Ilande; in the which although he had men enough both of the nation, and of the French, yet were they fearfull and disordered; and *Anthonie* himselfe at the same time prouided a light ship to imbarke if neede were. These newes came slowly to Lisbonne, for the which they were in great care, hauing newes of the fight, by the

\* A kind of  
small ship.

meanes of a Zabra of Biscay, but a French ship which had beeene sore beaten by the gallion Saint Mathew, being fled from the battell, gaue assurance of the euent; for beeing arriued disguised at Settual, he was discouered, finding within her some Spanish souldiers dead; in the boordone of one of them was written all that had passed in the armie, since their departure from Lisbonne vntill the time that he was slaine: The Marques attended long about the Islands for the Indian flete, whereof two being arriued, the seas growing high he came with them to Lisbonne, to the great ioy of all the court, where he was extraordinarily fauoured by the King.

*The carri-*  
*age of An-*  
*thonie after*  
*the sea*  
*fight.*

Anthony after the Marques his departure remained more quiet in minde, supposing that for one whole yeare he need not feare any epimie:

enimie : He greatly greeued for the death of the French prisoners, fearing it would prejudice his cause in France: But *Emanuel de Silua* pressed him to reuenge in hanging about fiftie or threescore Castilians, which were there taken prisoners at diuers times, the which he woulde not suffer, being better inclined : He was ill furnished with money, although hee had great store of armes and munition : For this consideration he daily ( all by the inuention of the saide *Silua*) made rigorous commandements to draw money from the people, and from such as did not follow him willingly : He caused gold to be coined, which hee valued at fve and twentie roials, although it weied but eight : He made testons of siluer, weighing a roiall and a halfe, the which he made currant for halfe a duckat ; and the copper money which was woorth three in Portugall, hee valued at tenne : And for that many were retired to the mountaines, to be free from troubles within the citie , hee commaunded every one to returne, and if any deferred his comming longer then the time limited by his commaundement , they presently seazed his goods : Many for feare of the souldiers had carried and hidden their goods without the citie , and therefore he commaunded euerie one to bring them backe againe, whereby he gained much ; for he demaunded a loane of money of such as came and brought it backe ; and if any one obeyed not, he sent Souldiers to search their goods , and to spoile them, with a thousand indignities : It was a lamentable thing to see how the Church causes were handled, for the religious men (except the Jesuits ) imploied in militarie actions, retayned nothing of a priest, but the habit, and the name ; as for sermons, confessions, and such like things, they came from them, as from men which had not God before their eies : And *Anthonie* himselfe during these afflictions, had not his minde free from lasciuiousnes, for the women of honour could hardly be free from his lustes, hauing too familiar accessse into the monasterie of religious women : amongst whom , as well as amongst the men raigned the passions of the affaires of the Realme, with no small scandall and great disorder, and many of his, as also of the French followed this his example. *Anthonie* liued this kinde of life vntill the moneth of October, irresolute what to doe : To goe into Fraunce after the losse of so great a number of the nobilitie, he helde it not safe, neither knew he how he shoulde be looked on,

on, for he feared as much the disdaine of particulars, as he hoped in the protection of the Queene mother. To remaine there, he saw it a thing not able long to subsist with so great garrisons, nor hauing wherewithall to pay the souldiers, nor in a manner how to furnish his expences : He resolued therefore with such shippes as he had to depart for Fraunce, but first would goe towardes the Madera, and the Iland of Canarie, that by spoylng of some weake places, hee should content the souldiers with some weake pray. For this cause hauing preparcd about thirtie saile, he not onely shipped his souldiers, but with a new devise he commaunded all the citizens which he suspected, and all religious persons affected to the contrarie partie, as the Iesuits and others to imbarke, making this commaundement most rigorous to those that could least obserue it, to the ende they should redeeme this voyage with money : But all as vnproufitable in sea causes, excused theniselves with liuely reasons and entreaties ; but it preuailed nothing, making answere to the yoonger, that he had neede of them for his guarde, and to the olde, for counsell ; so as many sought to content him with money as hee desired, euery one according to his abilitie, by meanes whereof they were freede from his commaundement. But this inuention was soone counter-checkt by another, for many desired to leaue the Illand & to imbarke, not with intention to follow the armie, but to saile into Spaine : Some of the Captaines of the shippes, vnderstanding their mindes, agreeed with the Portugals, not to deliuier any money to *Anthonie* for their stay in the Illand, but paying them the like summe and much lesse, they would land them in Portugall, so as many truſting to the French, and English, not paying any thing to *Anthonie*,imbarked with them,agreeing for a certaine summe to be set on land.

*Emanuel de Silua* *staires at the Terceres.* *Anthonie* departed with this armie from the Terceres, leauing *Emanuel de Silua* in his place, with fiftie hundred Frenchmen vnder the charge of *Baptiste Florentin*, and *Charles* a French man their Captaines : He arriued at the Illand of Saint Michael, where hauing staied long thereabouts, fearing the Spanish garrison there, he durft not land, being forced to leaue it by a storme that rose : Then some of his English and French ships, left him, keeping promise with the Portugals, that were imbarke with them. In the meane time they had newes in Fraunce of the defeat of the armie, and the death of so many

many prisoners, which caused both in court, and throughout the Realme a great griefe and disdaine, and enflamed the French to revenge, and as they had Flaunders neere, and matters in that estate (as hath beene said) there they discharged their choler; neither did they forbear, after the returne of *Anthonie* to treat of a new preparation, of an armie at sea for the sommer following.

*The French  
displeased at  
their owne  
shrow.*

It was giuen out in Spaine, that the faction of *Anthony* and the French against Portugall, was dashed; and that they had weakened their forces, yet did they not dismisse their hired ships: At that time two galliaxes being arriuued from Naples, it seemed the king would assemble a great armie for the next yeere, and make himselfe absolute Lorde of the Ocean, both in respect of the affaires of *Anthony*, as to assure his ships, from the Indies, and newe founde landes, from the French and English, and to force the Iland. The Catholique King desired to returne into Castill, both for that he was called by the states of Arragon, and to finish the marriage of his daughter with the Emperour; as also for other busines of the realme, and was vpon the point to effect it, in Nouember 1582. but he woulde first extend his pardon graunted at Tomar to such as had followed *Anthony*: For this cause hauing excepted the religious persons and tenne others, hee pardoned freely all the rest that shoulde present themselves within a certaine time; but this wrought no effect, for there came fewe, and many said, that the King being yet displeased, could not make a free pardon. This departure was after staied by the newes of the death of *Diego* his eldest sonne, who as hee had beene sworne Prince of Portugall, at the estates of Tomar, hee woulde likewise that the same oath shoulde bee made in the person of *Philip* his second sonne being then sicke. And for that he had no other issue male, the succession in masculine of these Realmes remaining in the breath of one only, togither with the kings age, and the disposition of the affaires of the world, both the quiet & seditious were in care: But for the swearing of him he assembled the estates at Lisbone, in the moneth of Februarie, resolute to accomplish this ceremonie before his departure.

At that time the Duke of Alua (confunied with a continuall feauer) died, in the pallace of Lisbone, in the Kings owne quarter, being of the age of threescore & fourteene yeeres. During his sicknes

*The amplifi-  
cation of  
pardon to-  
wards the  
Portugals.*

*The death  
of Duke of  
Alva & his  
commen-  
dation.*

he was greatly fauoured of the King, who did visite him a little before his death: There is no doubt but the King apprehended the losse of such a seruant, which bred no lesse discontentment in him, then pleasing to his enimies: But the Portugals obserued, that the day following he went publikely to masse, without any shew of discontent, contrary to the custome of their kings, who vpon the death of men of lesse qualitie ( hauing done any notable seruices to the crowne) retired themselues for a time; the which seemed the more strange, for that King *Emanuel* vpon the death of a notable Pilote » withdrew himselfe three daies: But the actions of great Princes, are » so subiect to the censure of the vulgar, as the wisest minister matter » of discourse to the curious and malicious to flaunter them. With him died (as a man may say) all the warlike discipline of Spaine, for there remained not any one captaine equall vnto him: He was of a goodly stature, of visage leane and graue; hee had rare gifts of nature, and fortune, the which he augmented much by arte; he was of a noble minde; of a readie and subtil spirite, assured in iudgement, and peaceable: He was not greedy of worldy wealth, sparing in giuing, but honourable in the expences of his house; hee was a great dissemlbler of the disgraces of the Courte, and cunning in their secret practises, for so it behoued him to be, to preuent such as were his competitors: He was generally hated, for that he treated proudly with his inferiors, and his equals hated his greatness. The ambition to purchase the Princes fauour (a shelfe wherein proude mindes cast them selues) was great in him; for this respect it may be, or for the preheminence and greatness he pretended aboue all other officers, the which made him odious; hee was not much pleasing to *Charles*, and lesse to *Philip*, although from their birthes vntill their » later daies, he had serued them 60. yeeres: But Princes loue them » better whom they haue rewarded, then such as haue serued them. Hee was greatly enclined to warlike discipline, wherein hee was so cunning, as there was not any captaine of his nation, in long time comparable vnto him; and to conclude, for his many yeeres, and great experiance, there was not in a manner any one in the worlde but yeelded vnto him: He was of great iudgement, and dexteritic, to encampe and make choice of a lodging, so as alwaies with lesse forces then the enimies, he kept them in awe; he was so well experiened

enced as he never refused battaille wheresoever he came : Hee did willingly hazard his owne person, but his soldiers with greater consideration, trusting more to policie then fortune : He was a rough & inexorable executioner of the seuere lawes of war, of whose pitifull crueltie depends the health of armies, and the conservation of States : He was by nature inclined to vanquish without effusion of bloud, and was imployed in warres conformable to his inclination ; for the greatest part of them, being defensiuē, wherein a wise capitaine should rather temporize and suffer the enimie to consume by the difficulties of warre in a strange countrey , then to hazard an estate vpon so vnequall a game , as is the winning of a battaille against him that hath but men to loose. To this effect hee answered the councell of warre , in the kingdome of Naples , in the yeere 1558. when as the Frenchmen being expelled , they woulde haue charged the enimie retiring , hee saide , hee woulde not hazarde the realme against a cassock of golde , for such was then the habite of the Duke of Guise , Lieutenant generall to Henry the seconde King of Fraunce ; yet some did blame him , to be too warie in the execution of matters of importance in warre : He serued his King in greater charges , and with greater authority then euer any of their subiects , and it may be , there hath not beeene in many ages a capitaine , which hath so long managed armes , nor displaied his ensignes in so manie countries : For he hath made warre in Italy , Spaine and Fraunce , in Hungarie , Germanie , Flaunders and Affrick ; although he were accustomed to say , that he had done nothing , seeing that he was never so happie as to see a Turkish armie : But the last wars of Flaunders did somewhat obscure the glorie he had gotten ; for althoough as capitaine he did warre valiantly , yet he knew not , (as it hapned to him in other places) howe to vs the victorie , but arrogating too much vnto himselfe , he caused a statue of brasie to be erected for him in the Cittadell of Antwerp , which the king caused afterwards to be beaten downe . It appeereth that he coulde better carrie himselfe in aduersitie then prosperitie , for in the one he had great force , in the other too much conceite , so as he reaped more commendations by afflictions , then by victorie : Hee shewed in dying the magnanimitie he had in his life , and that which is of great moment , hee shewed tokens of a religious Christian , being happie that Frier

*The blames  
of the Duke  
of Alva.*

Lewes of Granata, that famous preacher (whose diuine writings are pleasing to the worlde) was present at his death: They did substitute in his place *Charles Borgia Duke of Gandia*, a man of greater vertue then experiance.

*The obsequies of Sebastian and other Princes Portugals.*

The King had caused the bones of King *Sebastian* to be brought out of Affricke, the which with King *Henries* that were at Almerin, he woulde before his departure see solemnly interred in the church of Belem, neere to the other Kings of Portugall; and for that cause remained there three daies: He caused also to be brought from diuers parts of the realme vnto the saide monasterie the bodies, or at the least the ashes of his kinsfolkes, the children and nephewes to King *Emanuel*, who (as a man may say) dying, resigned him the crowne, that they might bee all kept togither: There was made a most sumptuous obsequie, with great shewes; and all the religious persons in the name of *Henry* were present, for the rest had beeene performed before, and in the funerall sermon *Sebastians* actes were likewise touched, and *Henry* extremely commended, the which was more pleasing being dead, then the praises of *Philip* living and present, wherein the Orator dilated much, hauing first in particular set downe the branches of King *Emanuel*, and brought the successiōn to the said *Philip*.

*A reformatio-*  
*n of the*  
*Kalender.*

I will not leaue heere to make mention as of a rare matter, although it be somewhat from our purpose, that in this yeere of our Lorde 1582. they did reckon ten daies lesse then in others: for by the Popes decree, all Christian princes obeying the Romish sea, gaue commaundement to cut off ten daies in the moneth of October, so as for the fist day, they shold generally write 15. the which was done to fitte the times to the meanes and principall aspects wherein the heauens were, when as our Redeemer Iesus Christ suffered, that they might celebrate Easter, and the other feasts vpon their proper daies. The which they had not formerly done; for that the true course of the sunne, which makes the yeere, being certaine minuts of an hower lesse then the time, which they vntill then had taken for a yeere, it seemed that in the course of so manie yecres so small a difference had mounted vnto ten daies, so as by this equalitie, it was made conformable to the time past.

The King beganne to vnburthen himselfe of the affaires of Portugall,

Portugall, for to go into Castill ; and therefore the xxvj. day of Ia-  
nuary in the yeere 1583. hauing assembled the estates of the realme, A new as-  
sembly of  
estates at  
Lisbone,  
where the  
prince Phi-  
lip was  
forne. they began in the pallace of Lisbone, where after *Alphonso de Castel-*  
*bianco* newly made Bisshop of Algarues, had briefly made the pro-  
position, shewing how much the King was grieued with the death of  
the Prince , and the necessitie there was to sweare a newe : *Melchior*  
*d'Amaral*, one of the Deputies of the citie of Lisbone, made answere  
in the behalfe of the whole realme, shewing the desire and readines  
they had to performe this acte : Whereupon the yoong Duke of  
Barcellos, as Duke of Bragance, beginning (for his father with sword  
in hande did supplie the office of Constable) kneeling downe be-  
fore the King, held foorth his hande to take the oath after the accu-  
stomed manner, the which being likewise performed by all the rest,  
this ceremonie was ended. He procured that the assemblie of De-  
puties for this effect shoulde not be called estates , to the ende hee  
might take away all occasion of demaunding new things, or to re-  
demaund those which had beeene required in the former estates,  
and not graunted ; and therefore hee had contrarie to the custome  
sent into all places, briefes of the procurations the Deputies shoulde  
bring with them, so drawne, as they shoulde not extend further then  
the swearing of the Prince ; and although it were so executed , yet  
the estates did not forbeare, especially he that was for the Deputies  
of the realme, to reviue the demaunds made at the estates helde at  
Tomar, with some others ; and especially that it woulde please his  
Maiestic to shewe magnanimitie and clemencie in giuing a generall  
pardon to all such as were culpable of *Anthonies* offence ; saying, it  
shoulde greatly profite , and do little harme : But whatsoeuer the  
cause was, he neither satisfied them in this point, nor in any other of  
importance. He dispatched some Portugals which sought reward,  
for although hee had giuen vnto many, yet were they not content :  
But notwithstanding all this care and diligence, whether it were his  
faulfe or his ministers, or else the disposition of the suters, or of all  
together, there remained many of them discontented, part of them  
for that they were not recompenced, and others for that they did  
not seeme to be recompenced according to their merits. The Duke  
of Bragance at the assembly of the estates, hoped to haue receiuied  
recompence from the King, which he supposed to haue deserued,

for although hee were rewarded, yet was it not according to his expectation, for aspiring to greater offices, & greater authoritie then he had, it seemed the Kings wil was therein directly contrarie, so as, for that the recompences were small in regard of the greatnes of his hope, they were not published, but hee was suffered to replie that they might be after specified. The Marques of Villa Real receiued likewise no contentment to his liking, so as both remained ill satisfied, and the Duke leauing the Court, being long before sick, died soone after, although the Portugals say, that the grieve he conceiued of the weake recompence hee receiued from Philip, hastened his daies. The King at the time of his departure reformed the state of iustice, publishing many newe lawes, suffering the Portugals to attire themselues more freely with silke then other kings had done: He made Cardinall *Albert* Archduke of Austria, gouernour of the realme in his absence, leauing him notwithstanding accompanied with three counsellors, that is, *George d'Almada* Archibishop of Lisenbōn, *Peter d'Ascasoua*, and *Michael de Mora*, who was Secretorie of the realme newly created Notarie, which they call of the purtie, so great a charge as yet had never beene giuen, but to the chiefeſt personages of the realme, whereunto ſince the time of King *John the third*, that *Michael de Silua* Bishop of Vifcu, who was after Cardinall, went to Roine in disgrace, there was never any aduanced. The King gaue procuracy to the ſaid Cardinall, cauſing him to take an oath in the preſence of the councell of State, and of the magistrate of the Chamber of Lifenbone, to gouerne with iuftice, and to reſigne him the realme at his returne. The Emprefſe his ſiſter, who was to goe into Caſtill, viſiting firſt the Nunnes of the monaſterie of Santos, who may lawfully marrie, ſhe tooke foorth and carried with her *Iulian d' Allan castro*, of the age of thirteene yeeres, who by the deceafe of *Maudlyn Girone* her mother, remained Dutchesſe of Auero: The Portugals were much grieved with this aſte, for although ſhe ſaid, the King woulde prouide ſhe ſhould not marrie but with his liking; yet notwithstanding ſhe ſeemed to be rauished, and manie feared that he woulde not marrie her in Caſtill.

*The kings  
departurē  
from Por-  
tugall.*

When theſe things were ended, the king departed the eleuenth of Februarie, in the yeere 1583. the which greatly displeased the

the quiet, and did glad the seditious; for those feared, least there shoulde grow some controuersie betwixt the people and the garris-  
sons; that the soldiers ill paied woulde mutine, and that the Cardi-  
nals authoritie, was not of such force as the kings presence, to re-  
dresse it; and contrariwise the rest hoped, that the kings absence, the  
small affection the people bare vnto them, the oppression of the  
garrison, and the great dearth, woulde in the spring ( considering  
principally the army which was prepared in Fraunce) minister matter  
of alteration; although it now seemed that things succeeded in  
fauour of the kings intention; hauing intelligence that in Flaunders  
the Duke of Alonçon seeking to assure himselfe of the citie of An-  
werp, wherein he was as Lord and Protector, hauing his armie lod-  
ged thereabouts, it had not succeeded, for forcing of a gate, and ha-  
uing drawne in three thousand French, they were by the great va-  
lour of the Citizens repulsed, and the one halfe slaine; so as it see-  
med the Flenimings would no more trust the Duke but compound  
with the King. Such Portugals as had receiu'd no answere to their  
demaunds, doubted of all dispatch in the Kings absence: but this  
feare was qualified by the opinion which they had conceiu'd, that  
the Cardinal remaining gouernour, they should be no lesse fau-  
red by him then they had beene by the King himselfe, albeit this  
hope soone vanished after the Kings departure; for the Cardinal  
did not onely forbear to vse the authoritic which hee seemed to  
haue left him, but hee refused to signe the commaundements or  
other writings which concerned the affaires of the realme: And al-  
though some beleueed that he had forborne to do it, for that the  
king was yet vpon the way, and not out of the realme, vpon a re-  
spect of soueraigntie, yet they were deceiu'd; for the King being  
out of the realme, he did not signe, the which bred a great disdaine  
in the Portugals, who pretended to holde the realme distinguished  
from that of Castill, it seemed that this manner of government  
which the king vsed from Madrill was a more strict vni'on then they  
desired, besides the troubles of their expeditions for the distance of  
the court: And this disdaine was much augmented, for that the king  
had placed in the councell of the reuenewes of the crowne which  
they terme *d' Hazenda*, two counsellors, Castillians of nation, a doc-  
tor, & a merchant, saying, that it was vnseemely & against their pri-  
uileges.

The tenth Booke of the  
THE TENTH BOOKE.

The Contents of the tenth Booke.

In this last Booke is contained the death of Sanches d'Auila: The sacke of the Islands of Cape Vert: The carriage of Emanuel de Silua Gouernour of the Terceres: The preparatiō of king Philip to force the said Islands: The succours sent thither from Fraunce: The fortification and the garrison. The departure of the armie from Lisbone: The description of the Iland of Terceres: The arriuall there of the Spanish armie: The assault, skirmishes and taking of the Iland: The yeelding of the French: The taking of the Iland of Fayale, and the obedience of all the rest: How that Emanuel de Silua lost his head, and many others put to death: And the returne of the armie to Andelouzia.

**H**E estate of the Realme after the Kings departure remained all that winter quiet; and although the people had their mindes yet disquieted, and some of the nobilitie not fully satisfied, hauing left the kings court, and the Cardinals likewise, retyred themselues to their castles and houses, yet no man durst shew any discontent. The greatest part, although they loued peace and desired the tranquillitie of the Realme, yet were they in their hearts contented to see the Terceres make resistance, and continue in the deuotion of Anthonie, and the French supposing that whilst the King had any warres, he would entreat them better, and beare them more respect, then they thought hee shold doe, if all were pacified: neither preuailed it, that the Portugalles were made much of in Castile, and admitted neere the

the King as they had woont to bee when hee was in Portugall, nor yet that the saide King had (it may bee to make the present gouernement conformeable to that was passed,) obtained from the Pope the authoritie of the Legate, for the Cardinall euen as *Henry* enioied it, the which bredde a great benefite to the realme: for as it hapneth to passionate mindes, they were not remouued from their opinion: for the Cardinall being made Legate for two yeeres onely, they feared that the time being expired, they woulde take an occasion to recall him into Castill, and so the Realme shoulde be reduced into a prouince, and that the king remaining at Madrill, shoulde governe it. At that time *Sanches d'Anila* died, being stroke with a horse, for that leauing chirurgerie, he woulde be cured by a soldier with certaine blessings, <sup>The death of Anila.</sup> the which caused the Castillians to mourne: for although he were but marshall generall of the fielde, yet remaining, after the death of the Duke of Alua, of greatest knowledge amongst the Spaniards, in the arte of warre, there was not any man neere the Duke of Gandia of so great experience: Hee was a man without feare, and happie in warre; esteemed by the Duke of Alua aboue all the soldiers of his time; but this life which he had vnto his olde age so happily aduentured at the cannons mouth, was nowe taken away by death, vpon a small mischance.

In Fraunce it seemed that all the French were turned vnto the affaires of Flaunders, affecting them more then Portugall: and altho there were an intent at the Priors instance to set foorth some ships of warre, yet founde they therein coldenes and want of money, whereby it appeared, that whereas they attempted something, it should not be to offend, but rather to prouide for defence: And although they had now intelligence that certaine French ships guided by the Portugals, and especially by one *Emanuel Serradas*, <sup>The French spoile the Islands of Cape Vert.</sup> had invaded the Ilands of Cape Vert, and spoiled some part of them, yet they made no account thereof, vnderstanding they were but small barkes of pirates. At the Terceres *Emanuel de Silua* was <sup>The carriage of Silua as the Terceres.</sup> still gouernour, who shewed himselfe an obstinate enimic to the Catholique King, a faithfull minister to the Prior, and a cruell persecutor of the Philippines: Notwithstanding ill disposed, of small iudg-  
ment, and little experience. With these his qualities he afflicted the poore

poore people in diuers manners, for the meanes which he inuented to borrow money, to molest and condemne many persons, were insupportable: The pride & arrogancie whercunto he was growen, (as it hapneth often in him that is not accustomed to commaund) made him seeme inuincible, and immortall; the wrongs he committed were so infinite, that iustice had lost her place; the libertie his friendes and seruants tooke vpon them was without restraint; the subiection and seruitude of those that did not flatter him was such, as the slaues were more free. I leauue the executions he committed vpon such as would haue compounded with the Catholique king, and coulde not conceale their mindes; for vsing many stratagemes to discouer their affections, wherein as he founde any one lesse obstinate then himselfe, hee was miserable, being cruelly punished both in body and goods: And for this occasion he caused manie to be slaine, betraied by one *Amador Vieira*, who hauing beene secretarie sent into this Iland by King *Philip*, to continue his followers in their fidelite, to sounde the disposition of the people, and to drawe all he coulde to his deuotion; after he had wel executed his charge, he reuealed vnto *Silua* such as had discouered themselues, by whom they were miserablie afflicted. And as tyrannie taught him, he dailly made newe ordinances and lawes in the name of *Anthony*; the officers and ministers of iustice in the citie, which were vsually chosen by voices, he alone woulde haue the naming of them. He was not onely contented to obserue those lawes which treated of high treason, but also made a new lawe more seuere, that such as did but talke of that matter shoulde suffer death, and that such witnessses should serue, although lesse in number then the auncient lawes had ordained: He would haue the sentences in such cases registered by the Magistrate of the citie, for a perpetuall memorie to all to terrifie and tyrannize the more. There was within the Iland little aboue seauen hundred French soldiers, one onely company of English, and about three thousand Portugals; it was fortified on all partes where they might lande, with aboue thirtie fortes, and many trenches made, with such arte and diligence, as it seemed impossible to enter, if they were guarded: And although these thinges with the other qualities of the place, made it vneasie to force, yet *Silua* iudged it stronger then it was, and did trust (as a man of no experience)

more

more in the defenders then was conuenient.

In the meane time they prepared an armie for sea at Lisbone, *The Kings* and assembled the Spanish soldiers, to employ them against this preparation Iland, vnder the command of the Marques of Saint a Croix, being *against the Terceraes.* more in number, both in ships and men, then the yeere before: besides there was speech to sende fowre galliaffes and twelue galleies, for which cause they shortned their yardes, prouiding square sailes, and of a thirde maste which they call the meane. In Spaine there *The dis-* were diuers opinions concerning this armie, making diuers discour-*couse in* *Spaine vpon* ses thereon, both by worde and writing: Such as were not to be im-*this enter-* ploied in this action, to whom no ~~part~~ of the honour or praise did *prise.* belong, made it easie, saying, that the people were alreadie so weare-*d,* poore, and oppressed by the garrisons, as the armie should no sooner appere, but they woulde bee at the Kings deuotion: And the cause why they did no sooner yeeld, was the subiection wherein they were held, and although they neither would nor coulde come to composition, yet were they easie to force; for the citie of Angra and all other places being dismantled and weake, they had no other defence then the landing, the which they supposed were impossible to binder, prouing by ancient and latter examples, that in warre there was no meanes to stoppe the course of passage of riuers and landing in Ilands, seeing that to keepe so great a circuit, there was an infinite number of men required; and being once landed all the rest were conquered: On the other side, such as imbarked with the armie to make it more glorious whatsoeuer euent were, laboured to make the enterprise of greater difficultie then it was, saying, that the Iland was little, well peopled, abounding with victuals, rockt rounde about, and seated in the most inconstant sea that is, where they coulde hardly ride three monethes in the yeere, whereof one part before they could arriuе woulde be spent, that they had not any port where to retire theselues, the which made it easie to be defended; adding thereunto the obstinate disposition of the people, the despaire they had of any assured pardō, the fortifications made by the French (in that point very diligent) with the prouision of munition, soldiers, and capitaines, made the place inexpugnable: They added, that it was likely the French, (if it were but to diuert the Spanish forces, and continue this moate in their eies,) would labour to support

support the Iland, which shoulde be of lesse charge to them then to the Spaniards in raising their armes to force it.

But whilst they prepared this armie in Spaine, and that they discoursed vpon the occurrents, *Anthony* imployed all his forces in Fraunce, so to furnish the Iland as they might bee able to defende themselues: And although the Queene fauoured him, yet whether the heate of the yeare past were growen colde ( it may bee through the vnhappy successe of the French armie, or that the Prior founde himselfe bare of money, or whatsoeuer it were ) they made a weaker prouision then was expected; yet at the Queene mothers instance, Mounsieur de Chattes a knight of Malta, who was gouernour of Deepe, being experienced in these later warres, went with fewe more then twelue hundred French men, although the report was fifteene hundred: He carried letters to the Magistrate of the citie, not onely from the Prior, whereby he did greatly command and encourage the citizens, shewing that on them he did grounde all his hopes to returne into the realme; but also from the most Christian King, and the Queene mother: The King by his letters rejoiced at their constancie, shewing how much he desired to aide them against those enimies, who sought to suppresse the libertie of the realme of Portugall, for the pretention ( those be his verie words ) that his mother might haue to their conseruation; and therefore he sent vnto them this gentleman with ships and men, giuing them manie other termes of loue. The Queene referred them to the Kings letters, with assurance neuer to abandon them in their iust warre, referring herselfe, and so likewise did the king, to that which the commander shoulde deliuer vnto them. Being arriuied and ioined to the rest, and with the Portugals of the Iland, which in all were neere sixe thousand; *Silua* supposed that although he had many sortes to keepe, yet shoulde he easilie defend them, and the better, for that the ships which had spoiled Cape Vert, were returned and brought much attillery with them, the which ioined with that which *Chattes* had brought from Fraunce, and so much more which they had before within the Iland, both for the guard thereof, and taken in ships, which they had spoiled, amounting in all to three hundred pieces, whereof many were of iron and very small: But notwithstanding all this, and that the Portugals shewed their accustomed ouerwee-

*Mounsieur  
de Chattes  
sent to suc-  
cour the  
Iland.*

ning

ning, yet as men that feared, they left not to conduct their wiues and childdren to the mountaines, and to hide that which they helde most precious. *Chasses* as a warrior, hauing viewed the seate of the Iland, the fortifications, garrisons, victuals, and munition within it, doubted of the defence; for all seemed sparingly furnished, and the soldiers to be fewer in number, and of lesse experience then the place required; neither was the Iland so rockie and inaccessible as was described: whereupon being retired with *Emanuel de Silua*, he desired to knowe whereon he grounded his defence: But he, whether blinded with the tirannie he there vsed, or else with his sinnes, did so augment the number, and extoll the valour of the Portugals, that he woulde haue them not onely beleue they shoulde easilie defend themselues, but that the French were in a manner superfluous. The French man helde not himselfe for all this satisfied, labouuring to remedie that which he thought remediable, esteeming still more of the number and valour of the Portugals then was convenient: The fortification seemed vnto him ill directed, for he perswaded them to bring into their chiese castell all their munition and victuals, that if the Spaniards shoulde chaunce to land in any part, their whole forces might retire thither to make resistance, vntill that winter comming the armie shoulde be forced to retire; for as much as without this retrait, the enimie setting foote on land, the towne with all other places being vnwalled were lost. *Silua* did contradict these reasons with wordes contrarie to his meaning, saying, that “when the soldiers had a second place of retraite, they woulde make a weake resistance at the first, and that the shoare was so fortified as there was no feare that the enimie coulde lande. But in truth he made no account of any of the castels, for three reasons: One for that he wanted victuals to furnish it for any time, and for so manie men: The other for that he woulde not willingly shut himselfe into any, hauing a meaning to flie: And the thirde was, that distrusting the French, hee woulde not trust them with any strong forte, least they shoulde become masters: In this sort the captaines disagreed, whereupon they not onely ceased to treate of this practise, but hauing before resolued to abandon all the other Ilands being weake, and hauing no superfluous men to sende thither, they tooke a newe resolution to seade vnto Fayale, as most inhabited, sowe hundredth French,

French, vnder the conduct of Mounier de Carle, with the which  
and the inhabitants of the Iland, hauing a small castell, they hoped  
to defend them selues.

*The kings  
armie de-  
parts from  
Lisbone*

Whilest these things passed at the Terceres, they had put the Catholique Kings armie in a readines, the which departed from Lisbone the eeue of Saint John Baptist, being in number aboue threescore ships, besides Zabres, Carauels, and barkes; for there were twelue galleies, and two galliaxes, for the other two came not in time from Naples, ffeue gallions, and aboue thirtie great ships of diuers nations: there were fewe lesse then ten thousand souldiers, the greatest part Castillians, hauing no other nations but a thousand Germanies, two companies of Italians, and two of Portugall aduenturers. The Castillians were ledde by their marshall of the field, *Lopo de Figueroa, Frauncis de Bouadilla, and Iohn de Sandoal*, the Germanies by Counte *Ierom of Lodron*: the Italians obeyed *Lucio Pignatello*: *Felix of Aragon* was captaine of the Portugals; and the Marques ouer all had charge at sea and lande. This armie although it were not verie great in number, yet we may say the Catholique king had never so many trained Spaniards as in this: For besides that the greatest part had beene in Italy, such as had beene in the battaile at sea of the league against the Turke, were there, and likewise those that remained at the warres of Flaunders. As the fleete went out of the riuier, a shippe striking against a shelsie was made vnfite to saile, and an other hauing not saile lost her helme, but hauing transported their soldiers into other ships, they went to harbour. This fleete sailing altogether, the swiftest shippe of saile was faine to staic her course for the slowest, and the galleies being of all other swiftest, were constrained to linger for the shippes, but for as much as this was the first time that euer these kinde of vessels with oares had beene within the Ocean so farre from land; the Marques wished that they should not lose the occasiō of faire weather, which they had to passe the gulph, fearing, that euery small storme might endamage them; he therefore desired rather to dismember them from the armie, then to retaine them with peril: For this cause the xxvj day, vnderstanding the Patrons desire to goe before, he suffered them to depart alone towards the Iland of S. Michael, with order to attende him there, so as sailing more at ease with scant windes

windes, the thirde of Iuly they discouered land: And for that the winde woulde not suffer the armie to approch, the Marques sent a Zabre vnto Punta Delgada, commanding *Augustine Iniquez*, coro-  
nel of two thousand Spaniards, which had remained there the yere  
before for the guard of the Illand, to shippe all his men within the  
galleies, which had arriued there before in safetie: he shoulde like-  
wise take with him certaine peeces of batterie, and moiles to vse at  
lande if neede were, with other prouisions: and therefore letting  
vp all his sailes, the winde growing somewhat better, he drew neere  
with his ships to Villa Franca, and from thence went in a galley  
to Punta Delgada, where likewise a part of the armie had cast an-  
chor: hee set all things in order, but the windes growing contrary,  
he coulde not depart before the xxij. day, when as setting saile hee  
came the xxvij. to the Terceres.

This Illand is scituated as is said in the fortieth degree of latitude,  
and three hundredth & forty two of longitude; it hath fortie miles in  
circuite, extending it selfe in length from the east vnto the west, so  
as it is not much aboue twelue miles broad; & although it be rough  
for the most part and stony, yet is it in a maner all inhabited towards  
the south, for the commoditiie of the shoares it is more populous  
then the rest, for comming from the west, you first discouer the citie  
of Angra, a place in a small bosome of the sea, but not greatly se-  
cure from the windes, whereof it takes the name, for Angra in their  
language is a bosome: Ioyning to this citie there is a castell begun  
in the time of King *Sebastian*, and made defensible for the garde of  
this porte: Sixe miles towards the east, neere vnto a dangerous  
shoare, which they call the port of Mole, is Saint *Sebastian*, a place  
smally inhabited, and three miles farther is that of Piaggia, so called  
being the best landing place of all others. This place is neere vnto  
Punta de la Serra, which is the last promontorie towards the East,  
behinde the which turning to the North, is another place which  
they call Agua Alua, sixe miles from that of Piaggia. This coast to-  
wards the North, although it be as we haue saide, inhabited; yet  
doth it not containe any places of woorth, being replenished onely  
with peasants houses; neere to the point of the West there is a small  
assembly of inhabitants, which they call the Altari.

The Marques being arriued at this Illand, he discouered within

E e i that

*The de-  
scription of  
the Terce-  
res.*

*The arrival* that small bosome of sea of the citie of Angra, those ships which  
*of the kings* had brought the succours, and some others assembled for spoile,  
*army as the* with some merchants. He cast anchor at Saint Sebastian, beginning  
*Terceres* visible to finde, that the Iland was no lesse fortified then had beeene  
*and their* described vnto them. The flete lay onely a cannon shot from land,  
*proceedings.* so as there was many a shorte spent at them in vaine from the forts,  
 not suffering his men to discharge one volley (it may be) for that it  
 seemed vnto him a vaine diligence, or rather as he saide, the better  
 to iustifie his Kings cause. Hee commaunded fower galleies to lie  
 before the towne, to serue as a bridle for those ships, and to keepe  
 them from comming foorth, the which was helde too much ouer-  
 weening, some holding opinion that he shold in dissembling giue  
 them meanes to depart, rather then to force them to dispaire : Hee  
 sodainly sent a trumpet to lande, offering to all such as were in the  
 Iland a generall pardon in his Maiesties behalfe, if they woulde  
 yeeld, but approching to land, he was vnkindly kept backe by their  
 artillerie : The pardon concerned the succession of the King to the  
 crowne, the disobedience of the Iland, and the clemencie of his Ma-  
 ieſtie, he offred vnto all such as were naturall borne, their liues and  
 goods, if they woulde yelede obedience, and to strangers, ships to  
 transport them into their countries, with their goods, armes and en-  
 signes: But being not able to publith it by this meanes, he sent two  
 Portugals secretly to land, who deliuered a copie thereof to *Ema-  
 nuel de Silua*; but making no account thereof, hee concealed it, least  
 others should see it, supposing (it may be) that it was nowe too late  
 to vſe it, and therefore hee not onely refused to accept of this par-  
 don, but also threatned to hange them that brought it, if they discou-  
 ered the cause of their comming, least the Ilanders should likewise  
 embrace it. The armie spent all the xxiiij. day and the next follo-  
 wing in discouering the circuit of the Iland, with the places and for-  
 tifications, in consulting where to land most fitly, and what course to  
 hold: The Marques himselfe, the marshals of the field, with other  
 of the chiefe commaunders in a small barke ran alongſt the shoare,  
 they found they had fortified more carefully then elsewhere, in the  
 citie of Angra, and Piaggia, as places most fit for landing, and it  
 seemed that the French did watch there with greater care then in  
 other parts: Some Portugals of this Iland, who going to discouer  
 had

had beane taken prisoners by them of Saint Michaell, and now brought vnto the armie, saide, there was no fitter place to land then at the port of Mole, neere Saint Sebastian; but whether they spake it to deceiue the Castillians, the place being more rough then it seemed, or that they deliuered their opinion faithfully, the Marques had still his eie vpon that part; for finding it rather lesse fortified then the rest, although the shoare were not so commodious there as in other places, enclining rather to fight against the difficulties of Nature, then Rampiers made by Arte, he resolued with the aduise of the greatest part to bring his armie thither vpon Saint Annes day in the morning, being the sixe and twentieth of the saide moneth, happily by reason of the victorie the yeere before, sending in the meane time his galleies and other small barks by night & by day to keepe the enimies in Allarum at diuers places, but most of all at Piaggia thereby to disquiet them, and to draw them thither.

In the meane time within the Iland, both *Mounſieur de Chattes*, The dilig-  
gence of the  
Ilanders for  
their de-  
fence. and *Emanuel de Sylua*, laboured to deuide the souldiers and munition into their ſeverall places, appointing the greatest force at Piaggia, ſuppoſing the Marques would lande there as moft conuenient. *Sylua* althoſh in ſhow he ſeemed conceited of his forces, yet had he prouided a great barke readie within the port, and ſome boates at Altary, to flie if he found it needfull: *Chattes* was not yet ſatisfied, for althoſh he had men ſufficient to keepe a great towne, yet hee held them few, for the defence of an Iland with thirtie forts; the one ſo farre from the other, as the firſt could not ſuccour the laſt, nor yet that in the middest as well for the diſtance of the way, as alſo for the diſcommoditie and roughnes of their ſituation: He thought it conuenient to haue a ſquadron of men ſo placed, as vpon any accident he might ſuccour where need required, the which could not be effected; for there were ſo many forts and trenches to guarde, that hauiung diuided his ſouldiers but ſparingly, there remained none, but rather wanted: He found alſo, that hauiung ſufficient for that purpoſe, he had no conuenient place to lodge them, and to ſuccour any place diſtressed; for that placing himſelf in the middest, hee were too farre from all quarters, and approching to any fort, it were imposſible to ſuccour the reſt. To provide for thoſe deſects, according to that which was poſſible, they ſet certaine bcts vpon the hils, that

the sound thereof might be a signe of succour, and such as were not charged in their fortres, and trenches shoulde repaire thither.

The Marques hauing now chosen out of his armie 4500. of his best foote, amongst which was a good number of the Germanes, the Italians, and the companie of Portugals, the regiment of *Lopo de Figueroa* and *Augustin Inighez*, the night before the sixe and twentith day he imbarqued them vpon his gallicies, and in many other small barkes, being the greatest calme that was euer, and hauing giuen the allarum in many other places with greater vehemencie then before, he went towards port Mole giuing order that soone after the whole armie should follow: He arriued there at the point of day, not being in a manner discouered by the Ilanders, for that the darkenes of the night had couered them, where he found they had three forts with their trenches and artillerie, but ill furnished with soldiers: As the gallicies approched, they often discharged all their artillerie against the defences, to the ende that at the same instant, the souldiers might more safely land, the which caused more terror then hurt, although they dismounted one piece of artillerie, which the enemy had often discharged: And although they shot often from the forts, and that the place was naturally vneasie and full of rocks, where their discent was broken; yet these nations one in enuie of another contemning all perill lept to lande, and he that could not easily attaine thereunto, cast himselfe willingly into the sea for more haste, although the ground vpon the shore were soft, and those fewe Portugals which were there were not the last, but in the point shewing greatest courage. There was within the forte (whither these men marched) three ensignes of souldiers, whereof two were Portugals, and one French, which made in all but two hundred men, against whom all these souldiers marched, running furiously without order to the assault, for that the seat and the neernes of the enemy, gaue them neither place nor time to put themselves in order. The French resisted valiantly, but for that they were fewe preuailed little: In the beginning they slew a Captaine and an ensigne bearer of them without, with ffeue and twentie or thirtie other souldiers; but some within being wounded, the Captaine of the French slaine, one of the cōpanies of Portugals left the

*The landing  
of some of  
the Mar-  
ques his men*

*The first as-  
ault giuen  
by the Mar-  
ques his  
men.*

defence,

defence, where they had a little, but fearfully, fought. The other company which remained made some more resistance, but hearing the bals ring, & no succors come, seeing also some of their friēds dying, they abandoned the trench, so as the French remaining all alone, some of them being already dead, they were not able to make resistance against so many assailants; so as in lesse then an hower, the Marques men were masters of those forts & trēches with small losse. The newes of this assault being bruted throughout the Iland, the French, the greatest part whereof remained towards Piaggia, hearing the sounde of the bals, and viewing the signes of fire, ranne to the succour, and were followed by *Emanuel de Silua* with many Portugals: But the way was so long and vneasie, hauing fower or five miles to march, that they were not come halfe way, before the enimies were masters of the fortēs and trenches, so as hauing made a stande vpon a little hill neere vnto Saint Sebastian, they put themselves in order to march against the Castillians. But on the other side the rest of the armie during this assault landed, & being mounted to a small hill, they framed a confused squadron of all nations together, for the more dispatch, and to be readie against the succours that came, but there was small need; for the French and Portugals would not approch, and such as had abandoned the trenches, turned not vntill they were ioined to the rest: So as the Marques hauing more respite then he expected, changed his esquadron into a new forme, decuiding euery nation, and hauing marched a little forward, they began the skirmish on both sides with great courage; and fortune after her accustomed manner did long plaie her parts: For although the French were so fewe in number, yet they did twise recouer from the Spaniards, their first rampiers, & at the third time they came to the second: But the Marques finding that the want of pikes was cause of this disorder, hauing placed some Germanines, and increased his strength against the French, they did better withstande their furie, the whiche notwithstanding continued not long, for being noone before that *Emanuel de Silua* had made prouision of victuals, they were so wearied with the watches of the last night, with the way they had marched, and with fasting, that they coulde not continue; yet the skirmish lasted, sometimes with more vehemencie, sometimes with lesse, vntill night. Neere vnto them the

*The second  
Landing of  
the Mar-  
ques with  
his men and  
their skirt-  
mish against  
the French.*

Portugals had gathered together aboue a thousand oxen, thinking to force them against the enimie, to breake them, and to make prooef of that which they had tried two yecres past, against Peter de Baldes his men: but Chattes did not allowe of this stratageme, holding it for a refreshing to the enimie without any profit; for it was not likely that that which had casually chaunced against sixe hundredth men, woulde succeed in the like sort against twelue thousand, whereupon they sent them backe. As the Marques had viewed this troupe of beasts, hauing reinforced the point of his armie with Germaine pikes, commaunding them, that if they came, they shoulde quietly suffer them to come on; so passed this day, the French not ceasing to disquiet the enimie with certaine peeces of artillerie, they had planted vpon those hils: Then did Emanuel de Silua resolute to flie, the which hee coulde not easily effect, for that euerie man kept a watch ouer him, and therefore hee caused a false brute to be spredde abroad, that he had threescore saile of French ships at sea which came to their succour; and seeming that he would sende to meeete with them, he caused the prepared barke to goe out of the port, that it might attend him at Altary; but when they came at the mouth, the artillerie from the fortes woulde not suffer them to passe, either ignorant of their intention, or for that the authoritie of Silua began now to decline, so as returning backe, the flight of Emanuel was preuented. During this time, the Spaniards were distressed for water, beeing forced vntill then to furnish themselues from their armie, whereof the French had great store, and therefore the Marques consulted that night to amend (if it were possible, the next morning) the seate of their lodging, the which was helde somewhat difficult; but for as much as both good fortune and badde hath no limits, he found lesse difficultie then he expected; for the same night the greatest part of the Portugals vnder Emanuel de Silua, terrifid with the skirmish of the day, the number of the enimies seeming too great, hauing abandoned the French, retired themselues confusedly to the mountaine, although woorthie of admiration; for being the very same obstinate rebels which esteemed themselues so great warriors, as they woulde never heare motion of accord, peace, nor pardon, it seemed strange that now, when as (laying a sidewards) they needed effects, they departed.

*Silua his  
flight his-  
tored.*

ted so shamefully, and changed their mindes so sodainely; for in *The Portugals aban-*  
their flight they faide, that this Ilande appertained to the Ca-*French.*  
tholique king, and that it was reason to yeeld it vnto him: But wee  
ought not to value the constancie of the peoples harts, nor their “  
valour. The Generall of the French, seeing the Portugals depar-“  
ture, and that *Emanuel de Silua* ( who had so highly commended  
their valour ) stooode in a traunce, he resolued to saue himselfe with  
his men; the day drawing neere, he beganne likewise to retire to the  
mountaine of our Lady of Guadalupa, with hope that *Silua* had gi-  
uen him, that there in a certaine place of strength, he should be able  
so long to defend himselfe, that the kings armie ( winter drawing on )  
shoulde be forced to retire, and that afterwards if they coulde not  
recouer what they had lost, they shoulde haue an easie meanes to  
returne into Fraunce, but for that the quitting of their lodging was  
not verie safe, fearing least the Marques standing vpon his guarde,  
shoulde charge them, he caused as many of his soldiers as he could  
spare, to march before, leauing some behinde to maintaine skirmish  
with the Spaniards, and to entertaine them a little if they appro-  
ched. But the Marques hauing soone discouered the enimies de-*The Mar-*  
parture, aduanced with his whole armie, putting those few that re-*ques takes*  
mained to flight, he recouered the water, and Saint Sebastian with  
some pcees of artillery, where the soldiers hauing refreshed them-  
selues, and all the French departed, he tooke his way towards the  
citie of Angra, distant about tenne miles, finding no let in his march,  
for that the enimie fearefully had taken a contrarie course. This ci-  
tie being nothing fortified to the lande lay open, and therefore was  
abandoned, not onely of the soldiers, but also of the inhabitants  
themselues, who fledde as well out of the castell as the towne. The  
armie arriued there after great labour, for the season being verie  
hot, the countrie drie, nor finding vpon their march one droppe of  
water, the soldiers endured much, and some of them ( especially of  
the Germanes died for thirst. Being arriued, the spoile of the citie  
continued three daies, although the houses were for the most part  
emptie, so as the greatest number of men that were founde there,  
were prisoners, whom they set at libertie: By meanes of their entrie  
into the citie, all the other fortes were taken, for being onely made  
against the landing, they were towards the lande open and indefen-  
sible:

*Angra pur  
to be spoiled  
three daies.*

sible: As the armie marched against the towne, so did the galleyes in like sort, against those ships that lay in the harbour, & drawing neare vnto them, they woulde haue forced them to obey with their artillerie, but they shot in vaine; for being abandoned by such as were left in them, there was not any man left to make answere, which the galleies discouering, they boorded and spoiled them.

*The Portugall shippes  
spoiled.*

The bootie both at land and sea, was not verie great, for besides the artillerie they found not any thing of great importance. The slaues which were in number aboue fiftene hundred was the greatest recompence they got: The citie being spoiled and other places thereabouts, the Marques desired that the inhabitants should returne to their houses; for although the souldiers which were retired into some place of the mountaines, had carried wth them some prisoners both men and women, the which after they deliuered freely, yet the greatest part returned not; and therefore he caused a generall proclamation to bee made, that euerie man (some excepted) should freely returne vnto his house; but the Portugals beeing distrustfull they were few that came at that time, although after by little and little they grew more confident. Things being reduced into this estate, although the French remained still in the mountaine, the Marques thought it fit to send vnto other Ilands to force them to obedience, especially to Fayale where there remained a garrison: For this consideration having imbargued in his galleies and some other small vessels 2500. foote drawen out of all nations, hee sent them to the said Iland, vnder the conduct of Peter de Toledo.

*The Marques sends to  
Fayall.*

Whiles these went vnto that other enterprise, the French remaining in the Iland of Tercerae, although they had somewhat fortified themselves in the mountaine, being ill prouided of victuals and munition, & worse succoured by the Portugals, resolued with the most honourable conditions they could to make their composition with the Marques: Mounſieur de Chattes remembred that he had knownen beeing in Malta, Peter de Padiglia a gentleman that came with the Marques an expert Marshall of the Spanish campe, to whom (remembering their familiaritie) he did write his minde, demanding free passage not only for himselfe and his troupes, baggage, Armes, artillerie, and ensignes; but also woulde haue passage graunted for all Portugals that would imbarke with him. This letter

*The French  
compound  
with the  
Spaniards.*

ter in some sort pleased the Marques, being in hope to come to agreement & to remaine an absolute conquerour without effusion of more bloud, before the sea shoulde grow more rough: But this demaund seemed vnto him vreasonable, refusing to heare talke of any Portugals to be transported into Fraunce. Amongst the principal of the armie there were diuers opinions what should be done: Some would presently haue marched against the French men to winne time, & charge them without any further accord or condition what souuer: Others discoursed with greater iudgemēt, saying, that it was conuenient to make an agreement with the French, both for the shortnes of the time they coulde staie there, as for the difficultie they shoulde finde to goe vnto them; for they made an account to spende fve daies in that enterprise, two in their march, one at the least in conquering, and two in retiring, and that they had no commoditie in the armie to carrie victuals by land for aboue two daies, wanting waggons, bottles, and such other necessaries: But these difficulties were surmounted by the courage of the soldiers, who growen proud, could not endure that so small a handful of French, being so neere, shoulde make shewe to defende themselves against so great a number of old soldiers and conquerors, whereupon they did offer to endure all discommodities to go vnto them: And although he were not resolued to do so, yet this Brauado caused the enemis to haue straighter conditions, then otherwise possibly they had had, the which after long treatie was thus concluded. That the French shoulde deliuver vp their armes and ensignes, retaining onely their swordes, that they shoulde bee lodged in a quarter of the towne: that they shoulde give them shippes and victuals to retorne into Fraunce: The accorde was no sooner made, but it was put in execution, for the thirde of August the French came from the mountaine, and without the citie deliuered vp their armes with eightene ensignes, their drums, and phifes, as it had beene agreed, and entred disarmed into the citie, passing thorough the Marquesse's troupes which were armed and in guard, where the commaunder *Chates* with the Lorde of Carrauaca marshall of the field, and other principall officers did visite the Marques, by whom they were kindly enterained.

*The conditi-  
on of the ac-  
corde.*

*Chates* doth  
visite the  
*Marques.*

In this time the galleies and other vessels were arriued at Faiall with

*They of  
Fauall kill a  
trumper that  
was sent vnto  
them.*

*The landing  
of Peter de  
Toledo at  
Fauall, and  
the sacke  
thereof.*

*Anthony  
Guedez de  
Sosa hanged  
by the arme,  
and where-  
fore.*

with the men that *Peter de Toledo* carried, and passing with them *Gonçalo Perera a Portugall*, who had wife and children in this Iland, the faide *Peter* thought it good to send him before as a trumpet, to entreat the people to yeeld, supposing that being of that conntrey, he shoulde haue credite amongst them, to let them vnderstand the Kings forces, and the dangers that approched, to the ende they might the more easilie yeelde obedience: But *Anthony Guedez de Sosa*, who was captaine of this Iland, neither respecting the messenger, nor the reasons which he deliuered, nor yet regarding the example of his stronger neighbors, hauing outraged him, both in worde and deed, in the ende he slew him, as if in giuing him this notice he had touched him in his honour. *Peter de Toledo* seeing the messenger not returne, surmising what had hapned, resolued to disimbarke his men, and finding the Iland not so rockie, and lesse fortified then the Terceres, the second of August he landed his men almost without resistance, and marching against the towne, he was encouerted by fower hundred French, and many Portugals, where the skirmish began, the which encreasing, the French and Portugals were faine to retire into a small castel, wherinto they had drawen the greatest parte of their artillerie and munition, where after they yeelded in the same manner as those at the Terceres had done, and *Sosa* suffered the punishment of his inhumanitie, being hanged by one arme after his hands were cut off. It is strange to see the confidence of these men, the which (nothing terrified by examples) did induce them to cruell excesse, and yet did not force them to fightit out vnto death: but the Portugals vnexperienced, do not account of dangers they see not, and when they see them, they feare them more then they are to bee feared. There was no more to be done in this island; so as hauing spoiled it, leauing *Anthony of Portugall* for Gouernour, with two hundred soldiers, *Peter de Toledo* returned with his galleies and other ships to the Terceres, where the rest of the Ilands of Saint George, Pico, and Gratosfa came to yeeld their obedience. The Marques hauing agreed with the French, caused a diligent search to be made for *Emanuel de Silua*, who intituled himselfe counte of Torres Vedras, Gouernour and Generall of the Islands, but being retired to Altary, and finding that such as had the charge of certaine boates, in whom fortune had

more

more force then loialtie, had broken them against the rockes, hee  
sounde all hope vaine for his safetie, hauing no meanes to free him-  
selfe by the French composition, being attired in a base habite hee  
hidde himselfe in the mountaines. But it seemed the heauens had  
decreed, he should suffer punishment for his offences, by the hands  
of his enimies, for that a moorish slau, who hoped by that meanes  
to sauе himselfe, discouered him to a Prouost marshall, who seeing  
him before his eies, knewe not what he was; so as hauing taken and  
brought him to the citie, he was kept with some other of the princi-  
pall rebels and seditious, vntill the processe of their death were  
made, by the auditour, in the name of the King and the Marques, as  
generall of the armie, specifying all their faults that were executed  
vpon the prisoners. The Germaines first put themselues in battaile  
in the chieffest part of Angra, keeping the entrie of euery streete, and  
there causing a fire to be made, they did burne all the money they  
sounde to be stamped with the coine of *Anthony*, the which al-  
though it was not little in quantitie, yet was it nothing woorth, be-  
ing for the most part of base mettall, with small mixture of siluer:  
After they cutte off *Emanue'. de Silua* his head with a sworde, af-  
ter the Germaine fashion, to the generall griefe of all the assistants:  
For being of a louely countenance, and hauing in this last houre  
with great resolution confessed himselfe culpable, and to haue de-  
serued this punishment; hee demaunded pardon of one after ano-  
ther, of all such as present or absent he thought to haue wronged,  
& that he alone ought to suffer the punishment; the which ioined to  
the contrition he shewed, did mooue the harts euen of his enimies:  
And in truth we may well saie that he strained himselfe to the speech  
of *Dionysius* the tyrant, that to leaue a tyrannie they must not ride  
poast, but staie vntill they be forced, for in truth he attended vntill  
hee lost his head. His head was set vp publikely in that place, from  
the which that of *Melchior Alphonso* was taken, whom a little before  
he had put to death, for being affectionate to the Catholique king:  
And it was obserued, that being required by the kinsemen of the  
dead, to take it from thence, he made answeare it shoulde be remo-  
ued when his stood in the place, which he ment shoulde be neuer;  
thus do men sodainly foretell their owne miseries. *Emanuel Sarra-*

*Emanuel de  
Silua taken,  
and execu-  
ted with  
others.*

*das,*

*The French  
men sent to  
the galloies.*

das, who as we haue said spoiled the llands of Cape Vert, and Amador Vieira (who with the title of Embassadour to his Maiestie, had betraied such as trusted in him, did likewise lose their heads. They did hang many, and many (especially of the French) taken prisoners before the capitulation, were sent to the galloies: The Marques was commaunded to dispatch with all speede, and to goe with his armie to Cales, and some saide the King woulde turne his forces against Affrick, and sease vpon Alaracie, and possiblie attempt the like vpon Algier, being fitter to vndertake those enterprises in Autumne then in any other season of the yeere: And therefore having left *Iohn de Vrbina* with two thousand Spanish foote for the guard of the llands, he sailed with the fleete and the rest of the soldiers towards the porte of Andolouzia: and in the meane time both in Castill, and in Portugall, they made great ioy for this victorie, with publike feasts, but not so great as was the griefe of *Anthony* his followers, whereof many ( hoping that the strength of this llande should yet be a subiect for *Anthony* to returne into the realke ) were discouraged, so as there remained no grounde, whereon to settle their hopes, although many expected that *Anthony* suruiuing *Philip*, the estate of things might sochange, as they might yet attaine the accomplishment of their desires.

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